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PAULO FREIRE'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION
OF THE PROTESTANT LAITY IN CHILE

A Dissertation
Presented to
the Faculty of the
School of Theology at Claremont

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Ministry

by
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June 1974

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
I. INTRODUCTION.	1
THE SUBJECT MATTER TO BE DISCUSSED	1
THE IMPORTANCE OF THE TOPIC	2
THE METHOD TO BE EMPLOYED	4
THE GOAL OF THE EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM	5
II. THE BIBLICAL BASIS OF A THEOLOGY OF LIBERATION	8
INTRODUCTORY DEFINITIONS OF LIBERTY, LIBERATION, FREEDOM, AND A THEOLOGY OF LIBERATION	10
THE OLD TESTAMENT BASIS OF A THEOLOGY OF LIBERATION	13
Creation	14
Abraham	15
The Exodus	16
The Prophets	19
THE NEW TESTAMENT BASIS OF A THEOLOGY OF LIBERATION	20
A Liberating God Revealed in Jesus Christ	23
Paul's View of Liberation	26
The Concept of Liberation in the Early Church	35
THE RELATION BETWEEN A CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY OF LIBERATION AND MARXISM	40
The Marxist Critique	41
A Christian Response to Marxism	42
THE CONTEXT OF SOCIAL CHANGE: LIBERATION THROUGH DEVELOPMENT OR REVOLUTION	46
The Process of Liberation in Latin America	47
The Role of the Church in the Liberating Process	51
III. THE NEEDS OF CHILEAN SOCIETY AND THE CHILEAN PROTESTANT CHURCH	62
AN INTRODUCTION TO CHILE	62
The Geography of Chile	65
Chilean Industry.	70
Chilean History and Government	74
The People of Chile	79
The Chilean Educational System	80
ECONOMIC, POLITICAL AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS IN CHILE FROM 1960 TO 1972	82

CHAPTER	PAGE
Economic Conditions in Chile	82
Eduardo Frei's "Revolution in Liberty"	89
Salvador Allende: Saviour of the Masses	102
OBSTACLES TO SOCIAL CHANGE IN CHILE	110
The First Obstacle: The Opposition	111
A Second Obstacle: Problems Created by Industrialization and Urbanization	115
A Third Obstacle: The United States	119
A Fourth Obstacle: Certain Groups Within the Church	121
A Fifth Obstacle: Some Political and Economic Systems	124
IV. BACKGROUND AND CHARACTERISTICS OF THE CHURCH IN CHILE	131
THE ARRIVAL OF PROTESTANTISM IN LATIN AMERICA	134
The Rise of Pentecostalism in Latin America	136
Roman Catholic and Protestant Missionary Emphasis in Latin America	141
THE CHILEAN PROTESTANT CHURCH	146
The Introduction of Protestantism to Chile	147
The Pentecostal Church of Chile	158
Implications for Theological Education	162
V. THE PHILOSOPHY AND METHOD OF PAULO FREIRE: EDUCATION FOR LIBERATION	164
INTRODUCTION TO PAULO FREIRE	164
Brief Biographical Sketch	164
The Culture of Silence	165
The Popular Culture Movement	167
Teaching by Socratic Dialogue	169
Freire's Basic Presuppositions	170
DEFINITION OF THE TERM CONSCIENTIZATION	178
Persons as Responsible Subjects	179
Objectivizing Reality	181
Conscientization as Commitment	182
Conscientization as Denouncing and Announcing	183
A Revolutionary Design for an Ideal World	185
CONSCIENTIZATION AS THE PROCESS OF EDUCATION FOR FREEDOM	189
Oppressed and Oppressor	191
Education and Freedom	192
The Critical Mind as a Free Mind	195

CHAPTER	PAGE
THE CENTRAL PROBLEM	196
A METHODOLOGY ADEQUATE TO SOLVE THE PROBLEM	200
Initial Steps in the Investigation	200
Generative Themes and Words	201
The Dialectical Relation Between Men and the World	204
Cultural Action for Domestication or for Freedom	206
Codification and De-codification	209
THE STUDENT-TEACHER RELATIONSHIP IN CONSCIENTIZATION	213
Narrative Education	214
Liberating Education	214
AUTHENTIC EDUCATION: PROBLEM-POSING EDUCATION	216
The Use of the Word in Problem-Solving	220
Education for Freedom as Cultural Action	223
Cultural Action and Cultural Revolution	228
IMPLICATIONS OF FREIRE'S THEORY FOR THE THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION OF THE OPPRESSED	233
The Role of the Church	233
Liberating Theology	235
CONCLUSION	237
 VI. EVALUATION OF FREIRE'S EDUCATIONAL PHILOSOPHY WITH A PROPOSED ORGANIZATIONAL FRAMEWORK	241
 EVALUATION OF FREIRE'S PHILOSOPHY AND METHOD	242
Criticisms of Freire's Educational Philosophy	243
Freire's Contributions to Educational Theory	251
AN ORGANIZATIONAL FRAMEWORK FOR THE APPLICATION OF FREIRE'S METHOD: THE METHODIST CLASS MEETING	253
The Origin of the Class Meeting	256
The Early Development of the Methodist Class Meeting in England	262
The Relevance of the Class Meeting for Adult Theological Education among the Protestant Laity in Chile	267
 VII. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE LAY EDUCATION OF PROTESTANT LAITY IN CHILE	271
 THE ROLE OF THE CHURCH IN THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION	271
The Ministry of the Laity	272
The Mission of the Church	272
The Church in a Revolutionary Situation	273

CHAPTER	PAGE
GENERAL PRINCIPLES FOR LIBERATING EDUCATION	276
The Transformation of the Individual and Social Structures	276
Identification with the Oppressed	276
Unification of Theory and Practice	277
Political Involvement	278
Liberation versus Development	278
Liberating Reflection-Action	279
GENERAL RECOMMENDATIONS	281
Liberating Education for the Masses	281
Education In and For the World	281
Education in Small Groups	282
Indigenous Education	283
Transformation of the Church through Education	284
Educating Prophetically	285
SPECIFIC RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION OF THE PROTESTANT LAITY IN CHILE	286
An Adequate Program	286
Well Trained Enablers	286
Re-organization of the Local Church	287
Preparation of Appropriate Materials	287
Additional Reflection-Action Groups	287
APPENDIX: KARL BARTH AND LIBERATION	290
THE FREEDOM OF GOD AND THE FREEDOM OF MAN	290
The Freedom of God	291
The Freedom of God Fulfilled in Jesus Christ	293
Human Freedom	296
The Relationship Between the Freedom of God and the Freedom of Man	300
BARTH'S THEOLOGICAL ANTHROPOLOGY	305
Man's Election	308
Barth's View of Sin	311
Sin and Human Freedom	315
BIBLIOGRAPHY	319

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The basic thesis of this dissertation is that theological education of the Protestant laity in Chile involves "conscientization," a process which implies learning to perceive social, political, and economic contradictions and taking action against the oppressive elements of reality. Conscientization helps students, not only to recognize injustice, but to become critical of that injustice so that they may enter into the historical process as responsible subjects and thus create history and mold it through the humanization and transformation of the world. Conscientization not only helps persons realize that they are oppressed, but also involves seeing how the individual and the group may liberate themselves, if they are able to transform the concrete situation in which they find themselves.

THE SUBJECT MATTER TO BE DISCUSSED

The basic subject matter to be discussed is the theological education of Protestant laity in Chile using the insights of Paulo Freire's philosophy and method, as amplified by the small group process and organizational framework as bases for the discussion of contemporary issues and problems in the light of Biblical truths in order that dialogue may be stimulated and that both individuals and groups may become more deeply involved in social action and radical social change.

Interest in this topic was aroused during the past four years as we worked on a "Pilot Project" at the Union Theological Community in Santiago, Chile, under the financial sponsorship of the Theological Education Fund. We have been using the philosophy and method of Paulo Freire in our attempts at theological education. Mr. Freire himself spent considerable time helping us organize this project by sharing with us not only his philosophy and method, but also ideas which have served as a basis for the application of his educational theory to theological education.

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE TOPIC

While Freire's literacy method teaches people to read and write, it also helps the student to come to a new awareness of selfhood and to look critically at the social situation in which he finds himself, in order that he may take the initiative in acting to transform the society which has denied him the opportunity of participation. It seems to us, as a theological faculty, that this philosophy is important for theological education of the laity, which certainly involves education for liberation. We find theological meaning in Freire's assumption that man is a Subject who acts upon and transforms his world, for in so doing, man moves towards ever new possibilities of a fuller and richer life, individually and collectively. Since Freire believes that any person, regardless of educational background or lack of it, may look critically at his world in a dialogical encounter with others, certainly the Protestant laity should not be excluded, but rather

should be provided with the proper tools for such an encounter.

Freire's approach is important for us since some of our students do not read or write, others read and write with some degree of facility, and others read and write but have few written resources at their disposal. Freire's method provides a system of religious education for adults with little educational background which does not require that these students attend classes in a seminary, but rather allows them to study in their local churches. Very few of these persons are able or willing to attend a seminary for several years of training, but a considerable percentage of them are lay pastors, church school teachers, and persons with other important responsibilities which demand that they prepare themselves more adequately. All are mature adults, responsible for their own lives, capable of making choices, and responsible for providing leadership in churches which often have several hundred members.

Freire's approach is important for theological education in Chile because it requires that the teacher's role be reduced to a minimum. Since we have very few trained seminary professors available for this type of work, it is necessary that we use enablers or moderators who can reach a maximum number of students, often in rather remote areas, with a minimum of financial investment. These enablers are able to stimulate their students, arousing in them the desire to know more, and helping them see that they are capable of discovering additional knowledge by themselves. Students are free to work out their own conclusions through dialogue and group discussions, and thus

become conscious subjects, and creative thinkers. Freire's method as applied to adult theological education in Chile, helps all involved come to a new awareness of themselves and their reality, receive a new sense of dignity, and be stirred by a new hope for the transformation of the world.

THE METHOD TO BE EMPLOYED

The method which we use combines the theory and philosophy of adult education proposed by Freire, with an organizational structure commonly used in Chile among Methodists and Pentecostals (the Methodist class meeting), and the contemporary insights of group dynamics and personal growth for stimulating personal growth and social action. We are having difficulties with our method in that we have not had time to reduce our findings to writing, nor have we been able to express in writing the theory behind the method.

The following discussion is an attempt to present Freire's thought in concise form for further study by our faculty and by others facing similar circumstances. The method which I am employing in this dissertation research demands that I read all of the available writings of Freire, including those in Spanish and Portuguese. Related to this investigation is a study of the Biblical background of the theologies of liberation, especially as reflected in the Latin American theologians of liberation. However, I hope to go beyond their analyses in order that a more comprehensive Biblical basis for liberation theology may be presented.

THE GOAL OF THE EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM

The goal of the "Pilot Project," assisted by the following research is to attempt to define a type of theological education for adults in the Protestant Church of Chile which liberates persons for personal growth and social action. This type of educational program would not be done by a seminary in a typical seminary environment, but rather by enablers who are members of the groups with which they will be working. Little formal study will be involved, at least as participants begin their involvement, but emphasis will be placed on dialogical involvement in the community of the local church so that the charismatic leadership and active participation which is now characteristic of the Protestant Churches of Chile may be fostered and stimulated. Institutionalization will be avoided, but a fuller understanding of and participation in the liberating activity of God in the local situation will be emphasized. Teaching methods and materials will be developed which will guide local congregations in a more careful articulation of both their local needs and their theology. It is our hope that this educational approach will be truly liberating education.

Theological education for adults in Chile will be liberating to the extent that it is oriented toward the full development of the potential of the human person so that he may find a responsible place in the society in which he lives. This type of religious education will not be oriented toward the preservation and growth of the church institution, but rather for the mission and service of God's people in

the world. This type of liberating education will be related to the social, economic, political and religious needs of the people, and those who participate in this liberating educational process will identify with the oppressed in their struggle for a humanized life. This involves liberation. A recent Assembly of the World Council of Christian Education, meeting in Huampani, Peru, in July, 1971, encouraged Christians to participate in the liberation of the oppressed:

Once more we have experienced how the mission of the Church is that of witnessing to the living God made manifest in Jesus Christ and in every liberating action. . . . Liberation is much more than an idea or an ideal. It is God's work in the world for the elimination of the causes of slavery and for the full realization of a new life which becomes actualized in community, solidarity, respect, and equality, according to the truth revealed in the Gospel.¹

Jose Miguez Bonino has stated that "theologies of revolution" and of "liberation" have appeared recently, attempting to carry over to their field of reflection "the revolution that has originated in the field of sociology."² Bonino states:

It is this conscious and passionate taking of a stance within a concrete problematic situation, analyzed through the medium of social-political instruments and adopted in an ideological option, that characterizes the new Latin American theology.³

One of the contributions which theological education offers is the possibility of offering a liberating context for reflection and action.

¹"Message to the Churches," *World Christian Education*, XXVI:3,4 (1971), 132.

²Jose Miguez Bonino, "New Theological Perspectives," *World Christian Education*, XXVI:3,4 (1971), 142-143.

³*Ibid.*

Theological education for liberation can become a part of the total liberating process which is attempting to make the Third World countries crucibles of revolutionary changes. The following experimental model of adult theological education in Chile may help illumine some of the principles by which education may become "education for liberation."

CHAPTER II

THE BIBLICAL BASIS OF A THEOLOGY OF LIBERATION

John A. Mackay feels that Latin America and revolution are inseparably blended, and that they are fused in both the history and psychology of the people.¹ To substantiate his views, he cites the role of revolutionary changes in Latin American history, in the personalities of Latin American revolutionaries, in the motivations of the people, in the needs of the poor, and in the revolutionary activities of the churches. A new revolutionary mood has been inspired by a new question that has emerged among the common people and is also being raised in the university, in political circles and in the churches: How can man become truly human? How can the forces of injustice that have contributed to the dehumanization of man in Latin America be creatively dealt with? What can be done to make people truly human in daily living, in their national life, and in international relations? What contribution can culture, social reform, and religious bodies make to the liberation of dehumanized man, to making man truly free in his environment, in his country, and in his world? In a word, how can man and society be liberated?

An increasing number of Roman Catholics and Protestants are discovering, with the aid of a "theology of revolution," that the

¹John A. Mackay, "Latin America and Revolution," *Christian Century*, LXXXII:46 (November 17, 1965), 1409-1412.

function of the Christian in present-day Latin America must be a subversive one: the summons of the gospel is the demand for justice, and the demand for justice is spelled out only in terms of revolutionary action.² Some choose to work from within the structures of the Church, or with leftist movements, or with violent guerrilla groups, or within political or social movements. Those who have chosen to work within the Church, or those who are working elsewhere as Christians, regardless of the group, are attempting to discover the proper task of the Church and of the Christian in relation to the process of liberation. Are the two activities to be totally identified? Is one subservient to the other? Are they intrinsically related or only instrumentally connected? How does one's understanding of the Gospel relate to the needs of the Latin American society, particularly the need for liberation expressed in the theologies of liberation? Is there a "Christian answer" to the revolutionary need in Latin America?³ To what extent is Biblical understanding vital for the revolutionary process in Latin America? Why did "Che" Guevara say: "When Christians dare to give an integral revolutionary witness, the Latin American revolution will be invincible"?

²Jose Miguez Bonino, "The Church and the Latin American Social Revolution," *Perspective*, IX:3 (Fall 1968), 230.

³Emilio Castro, "Christian Response to the Latin American Revolution," *Christianity and Crisis*, XXIII:15 (September 16, 1963), 160, asks: "Do you believe that Christianity can be the solution to the problems of Latin America? We speak of the 'Christian answer' as if it were a form of salvation offered to this continent. But is this a logical question? After all Christianity, which has been on the continent for the last 400 years, cannot now act as though it had had nothing to do with the problems that the present revolutionary mood wishes to solve."

Before discussing the conditions in one of the Latin American countries, Chile, it may be helpful to define some of the Biblical bases for a "theology of liberation," emphasizing those Biblical bases discussed by Latin American theologians. While little has been written concerning the Biblical bases of the "theologies of liberation" being discussed in Third World countries, nevertheless, the thesis of this chapter is that most of these "theologies" are profoundly based upon Christian Biblical principles.

INTRODUCTORY DEFINITIONS OF LIBERTY, LIBERATION, FREEDOM, AND A THEOLOGY OF LIBERATION

In order that some of the Biblical bases of a theology of liberation may be discussed, it may be helpful to define some of the terms to be used. Liberty may be defined primarily as the state of those who are not slaves, and secondarily, though more fundamentally, as the quality of personal and social life, here and hereafter, which is the given possession of those whom Christ has set free from human bondage.⁴ The Assembly of the World Council of Christian Education, meeting in Huampani, Peru, July, 1971, defined liberation as follows in its Message to the Churches:

Once more we have experienced how the mission of the Church is that of witnessing to the living God made manifest in Jesus Christ and in every liberating action. . . . Liberation is much more than an idea or an ideal. It is God's work in the world for the

⁴J. Marsh, "Liberty," in *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible* (New York: Abingdon Press, 1962), III, 122.

elimination of the causes of slavery and for the full realization of a new life which becomes actualized in community, solidarity, respect, and equality, according to the truth revealed in the Gospel.⁵

Liberation in this sense is an action, an act, not merely an intellectual theory.

. . . liberation should not be considered as an explanation but a project. The Bible always speaks of it as action--the acts of God--that changes the conditions of human existence, that moves history, that transforms relations in all orders, and not simply as 'a new understanding of himself' for man. The new understanding is rather . . . the consequence of a new situation. God does not call on man to feel free in his slavery; he liberates him to understand what freedom is. Thus, neither in the field of doctrine nor in Christian ethics can we escape the active dynamic character of liberation.⁶

In this challenge to Christians to undertake a liberating action, the Assembly is affirming that the elimination of dependence (economic, political, social, educational, and religious) involves liberation or freedom. Freedom may be defined as the attainment to the dynamic and true nature of man. Thieliicke defines freedom as "not doing what I will but becoming what I should."⁷ In other words, a man is free when he sees clearly the fulfillment of his being and is thus capable of making the envisioned self a reality. James Cone says of freedom:

Freedom cannot be taken for granted. A life of freedom is not the easy or happy way of life. That is why Sartre says man 'is condemned to freedom.' Freedom is not a trivial birthday remembrance

⁵"Message to the Churches," *World Christian Education*, XXVI:3,4 (1971), 132.

⁶Jose Miguez Bonino, "Theology and Liberation," *International Review of Missions*, LXI (January 1972), 70.

⁷Helmut Thieliicke, *The Freedom of the Christian Man* (New York: Harper & Row, 1963), p. 10.

but, in the words of Dostoevsky's Grand Inquisitor, 'a terrible gift.' It is not merely an opportunity but a temptation. . . . Christian freedom means being a slave for Christ in order to do his will. Again this is no easy life; it is a life of suffering because the world and Christ are in constant conflict. To be free in Christ is to be against the world.⁸

Some authors distinguish between freedom and liberty by using freedom to mean the actual exercise of choices and liberty to mean the power and ability to make such choices. In this discussion, however, the two words are used interchangeably.⁹

The theology of liberation refers to the liberation or freeing of the total man in all his dimensions. Liberation is the full freedom of man to develop his God-given potentiality, his spiritual, historical, material, social and individual being. Jose Miguez Bonino describes the situation in Latin America as one in which "theologies of liberation"

⁸James H. Cone, *Black Theology and Black Power* (New York: Seabury Press, 1969).

⁹Gustavo Gutierrez, *A Theology of Liberation* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1973), pp. 36, 37, distinguishes between three reciprocally interpenetrating levels of meaning of the term "liberation," or three approaches to the process of liberation. These are three levels of meaning of a single, complex process, which, according to Gutierrez, finds its "deepest sense and its full realization in the saving work of Christ." Gutierrez's first level of liberation expresses the "aspirations of oppressed peoples and social classes, emphasizing the conflictual aspect of the economic, social, and political process which puts them at odds with wealthy nations and oppressive classes." At a deeper level of liberation, man assumes conscious responsibility for his own destiny, and the result is the gradual conquest of true freedom which leads to the creation of a new man and a qualitatively different society. At a third level, we see liberation as described in the Bible. There "Christ is presented as the one who brings us liberation. Christ the Savior liberates man from sin, which is the ultimate root of all disruption of friendship and of all injustice and oppression. Christ makes man truly free, that is to say, he enables man to live in communion with him; and this is the basis for all human brotherhood."

have attempted to relate Christian existence to the historical task of the people, a task which involves both reflection and action:

Young theologians . . . have been conscious of this situation. And thus 'theologies of revolution' and of 'liberation' appear on the scene and attempt to carry over to their field of reflection the revolution that has originated in the field of sociology. It is this conscious and passionate taking of a stance within a concrete problematic situation, analyzed through the medium of social-political instruments and adopted in an ideological option, that characterizes the new Latin American theology.¹⁰

An adequate theology of liberation involves not only a philosophy of personal freedom, but also a concept of political freedom. In a sense, political freedom is an extension of the idea of personal freedom into the political realm. As personal freedom involves personal rights, political freedom implies the rightful claims of the citizen within the political community. A theology of liberation is concerned not only for the protection of individual rights, but also for the active participation of all in the pursuit of the common good. It is freedom *from* governmental excesses which infringe on personal rights, and freedom *for* self-government and self-determination.

THE OLD TESTAMENT BASIS OF A THEOLOGY OF LIBERATION

Liberty in the Old Testament means both deliverance from the oppressive forces that keep men from serving their Creator, and the positive happiness of living in fellowship with Yahweh under his

¹⁰ Jose Miguez Bonino, "New Theological Perspectives," *World Christian Education*, XXVI:3,4 (1971), 142-143.

covenant. Thus liberty is freedom *from* slavery to the oppressive powers that oppose God, and freedom *for* the fulfillment of God's claims upon one's life and of God's claims upon the nation. Liberty is one of the results of a covenant blessing which God promises to maintain as long as His people are faithful. God's liberation does not imply independence from God or from one's fellow man, but rather freedom to serve God as a member of the covenant people (Lev. 25:42, 55).

The Hebrews understood well that the hand of foreign oppression often deprived them of freedom (Ex. 5:6f.; II Kings 24:1, 25) and caused them to work for another power as slaves. Not only as a nation but also as individuals, they had been sold into slavery for debt (Lev. 25:39). For this reason, Levitical law provided for a "year of liberty" in connection with the Jubilee every 50 years (Lev. 25:8-17; Lev. 25:40; Jer. 34:8f.).

Creation

The freedom of man has its beginning in the creation of the universe by a loving God. Likewise, man was created as a free and responsible being who was free from all human domination. Man was created to be liberated, not to be subservient to nature, technology or the state.¹¹ Man was given domination over the earth (Gen. 1:28) in order that he might care for creation responsibly.

¹¹The Old Testament assumes that man is free, i.e., that he is responsible for his deeds (Gen. 4:7; 18:25; Ps. 18:21; 51:5f.; Ez. 18:4-32; 33:11; Deut. 30:15-20; Jos. 24:15).

In pointing to the deep Biblical roots of liberation, Hugo Ortega refers to the Biblical account of creation and to the historical origins of the Hebrew people:

The theology of creation in Israel sees man as a responsible co-creator of history and of the world (Gen. 1:26-30; 2:8-15; cf. vs. 19-20). Man is the maker of his life and he is responsible for his history.¹²

But the focus of creation is on a God who reveals himself through historical events and saves in history.¹³ Creation itself is presented in the Biblical account as a part of the salvific process, as the first in a series of saving events.

Abraham

The freedom of God in relation to the freedom of man may also be seen in the calling of Abraham to leave his country and be the father of a chosen nation. Abraham pointed the way in the liberation process by demonstrating the element of risk in faith, the difficulty of living in that nomad's land between the already and the not yet. Abraham accepted the call of God to leave his home without knowing where he was to go, an action of absolute obedience in action (Heb. 11:8; Gen. 12). Abraham obeyed God and became a mediator between God and man (Gen. 20:7; Job 42:8). God demanded something of Abraham, but he also promised Abraham that he would bless Abraham and make of

¹²Hugo Ortega, "Toward a New Perspective in Christian Education in Latin America," *Encuentro* (Buenos Aires), I (April 1972), 8.

¹³Gutierrez, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

Abraham a great nation. Abraham pointed the way to one of the conditions of liberation: faith and obedience, or obedient faithfulness. The promises made to Abraham were repeated to Isaac and Jacob (Gen. 26:3; 28:13; 35:11-12). Later Moses was to exhort all Israel in this faith (Ex. 6:3-8).

Not only do the Biblical accounts of creation, the fall, and Abraham presuppose man's freedom, but also such passages as Deuteronomy 30:19: " . . . I have set before you life and death, blessing and curse; therefore choose life." Also, the freedom envisaged in Lev. 25:10 encompasses not only the emancipation of slaves, but the return to one's ancestral lands which had been alienated by sale. This concept is extended in Jeremiah 34. To be free is a necessary requirement for the service of God and the fulfillment of his will.

The Exodus

It was in the Exodus event that God set Israel free from bondage to Egypt, so that Israel might become a nation which could serve him as his covenant people (Ex. 19:3ff., 20:1ff.; Lev. 25:55; cf. Isa. 43:21). Israel was a slave in the land of Egypt, but Yahweh liberated her from the house of slavery (Deut. 15:15). Thus the Exodus experience may be interpreted as a "liberation from the power of Egypt" (Ex. 14:30; 18:10), and serves as an example of the manner in which Yahweh saves or liberates his people. Israel's freedom after the Exodus event depended, not so much on her own efforts in either the military or the political realm, as on the quality of her obedience

to God. Her freedom was a divine blessing, Yahweh's gracious gift to his own covenant people. Not only is freedom unmerited, and unattainable apart from him, but it is also maintained only through his continued favor. Disobedience assumes the form of religious impiety or social injustice and results in the loss of freedom. The result of disobedience is enslavement and/or national disaster (Deut. 28:25, 47ff.; cf. Judges 2:14ff.; 3:7ff.).

The Exodus was not merely an interior spiritual event, although it included that. Ortega states:

The Exodus was an historic liberation from an oppressive reality. The mission of Moses was a concrete political event: 'I have seen the affliction of my people who are in Egypt, and have heard their cry because of their taskmasters; I know their sufferings, and I have come down to deliver them out of the hand of the Egyptians, and to bring them up out of that land to a good and broad land, a land flowing with milk and honey. . . . And now, behold, the cry of the people of Israel has come to me, and I have seen the oppression with which the Egyptians oppress them. Come, I will send you to Pharaoh that you may bring forth my people, the sons of Israel, out of Egypt' (Exodus 3:7-10).

God promises to be present in this liberating action (v. 12). The liberation of the Exodus had serious consequences for the oppressor: the loss of slave labor and of a sizeable market, the death of the firstborn, the plunder of his goods, and the defeat of the Egyptian army. At the same time, the liberation was hard for the victors. Ahead lay the desert, uncertainty, a new society, and new enemies, as well as other risks. Subsequent history included the difficult struggle of the Hebrews against the Palestinian tribes (Joshua 11:15ff.).¹⁴

The very consciousness of Israel as a people was formed in connection with their "exodus," their liberation from slavery (Exodus 3:8; 6:6). Jehovah is their "Liberator" or "Redeemer." The memory of God's

¹⁴Ortega, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

liberation in the past becomes for Israel the guarantee that God will continue to be their Redeemer, opening a door to the future. God is the liberator or redeemer of the weak and oppressed who are symbolized by the stranger, the widow, and the orphan (Ex. 21:21-24). Miguez Bonino states why the God of Israel was seen as a liberator:

'Liberator' (or 'redeemer,' which is usually equivalent), is one of the titles most frequently employed to characterize God. This is understandable if, as the specialists tell us, the consciousness of Israel as a people was formed in connection with the experience of the 'exodus,' the liberation from slavery (Exodus 3:8; and 6:6). The memory of that liberation determines the historic existence of the people and becomes the guarantee that God will not consent to their becoming vassals but will be affirmed as their liberator (Nehemiah 9:9-10, 26-28, and 32-37). This assurance becomes a door open to the future. But it does not deal with an external liberty (emancipation) only; the law that governs the life of the people of Israel must manifest the same redemptive character.¹⁵

The Exodus symbol is one which can be understood well by oppressed people, and is one which has been used extensively as one of the Biblical foundations for a theology of liberation. What more adequately expresses the basic idea of liberation than the action of God in delivering the Israelites from slavery in Egypt and in guiding them to the promised land.¹⁶ Exodus meant freedom for the Israelites,

¹⁵Miguez Bonino, "Theology and Liberation," *op. cit.*, p. 67.

¹⁶Gutierrez, *op. cit.*, pp. 155ff., points out that the exodus event not only looks forward to the promised land, but also is related to creation. "The creative act is linked, almost identified with, the act which freed Israel from slavery in Egypt" (Isa. 59:9-10). Moses is chosen to lead his people out of Egypt, but the real liberator is the God of Exodus, Yahweh, the Liberator (Isa. 43:14; 47:4; Jer. 50:34). Not only is the Exodus related to creation, but also to the Covenant, which is a different aspect of the same movement, a movement which led to encounter with the liberating God. "The God who makes the cosmos from chaos is the same God who leads Israel from alienation to

for it meant deliverance or freeing from oppression and slavery. The Biblical faith of the Israelites points to liberation from oppression and exploitation, a theme which may be seen in the ministry of Jesus (Luke 4:18).

The Prophets

One of the major tasks of the prophets was that of denouncing injustice and oppression and of calling for the liberation of God's people. "Amos, Isaiah, and Jeremiah, to name the most important ones, incarnated themselves in the historical reality of the people in order to undertake the task of liberation."¹⁷ The prophets demanded both freedom and justice, for they realized that when there is no justice in the land, a man's freedom is threatened. Prophets such as Amos, Hosea and Micah proclaimed Yahweh's intolerance with the rich, who, as Amos says, "trample the head of the poor into the dust of the earth" (2:7) and "sell the righteous for silver, and the needy for a pair of shoes" (2:6).¹⁸

The prophets proclaimed the necessity of liberating the oppressed as love for the oppressed becomes wrath against the oppressors. Slaves are set free as the powers of oppression are destroyed.

liberation. This is what is celebrated in the Jewish passover," states Gutierrez (p. 158).

¹⁷Ortega, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

¹⁸See Cone, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

The instruments of the oppressor must be removed: the yoke he puts on man's neck, the rod with which he hurts the slave (Isa. 9:4), the boots of the warriors, the garments rolled in blood, the swords and spears (Isa. 9:5; 11:4). The Prophets announced divine judgment on those who oppress the helpless (Isa. 1:17; Zech. 7:8-14; Jer. 22:1-5), and the psalms express confidence in Yahweh the Liberator (Ps. 10:12-14; 68:5-6; 146:5-9). Gustavo Gutierrez summarizes one aspect of the message of the prophets:

The prophets spoke of a kingdom of peace. But peace supposes the establishment of justice (Isa. 32:17), defense of the rights of the poor, punishment of the oppressor, a life without fear of being enslaved. A poorly understood spirituality has often led us to forget the human message, the power to change unjust social structures, that the eschatological promises contain, which does not mean, of course, that they contain nothing but social implications. The end of misery and exploitation will indicate that the kingdom has come. . . . To fight for a just world where there will be a sign of the coming of the kingdom. Kingdom and social injustice are incompatible. In Christ 'all God's promises have their fulfillment' (II Cor. 1:20; cf. also Isa. 29:18, 19; Mat. 11:5; Lev. 25:10; Luke 4:16-21).¹⁹

THE NEW TESTAMENT BASIS OF A THEOLOGY OF LIBERATION

In the course of its history the messianic idea emerged as the ground of hope for liberation from oppression. The Anointed One was considered to be the "Liberator" (I Sam. 2:1-10; Isa. 61:1-2; etc.). The business of the Messiah was to liberate men from bondage. The Church in the doctrine of the Incarnation preached that God's Son

¹⁹Gustavo Gutierrez, "Notes for a Theology of Liberation," *Theological Studies*, XXXI (June 1970), 255.

became man and took the form of a slave that human nature might be brought to its divine destiny, that of liberty in the freedom of redemptive salvation here and now and also in the future. According to Luke Jesus is received by Zachariah and Mary as the long-awaited liberator (Luke 2:46-55, 68-79). Jesus the Liberator accepts Isaiah's program of liberation (Luke 4:18-19; cf. Isa. 61). The death and resurrection of Jesus are proclaimed as the means to liberation from the power of sin, from the law, and from death itself to a new life of freedom. Jesus frees man from his bondage to sin that he may serve a loving God in freedom. This is freedom *from* the bondage of sin, the law and death, but, more importantly, freedom *for* God and neighbor. It is a freedom in submission to God which causes the Christian to love God and neighbor in the "perfect law of liberty." Being restored to a right relationship with God and neighbor releases a new spiritual power and willingness to serve others in love. Each person is "called to liberty" (Gal. 5:1 and 13), a liberty which is both present and future, and is an anticipation of the liberation that the whole creation desires and awaits (Rom. 8:15-27).

The liberation of which the New Testament speaks is one which has been effected through Christ (Jn. 8:36; Gal. 5:1; 4:4f.; 3:13; Rom. 8:2f.). It consists in the abandonment of personally acquired righteousness (Rom. 10:3; Phil. 3:9) and signifies a possibility which is within the reach of every person (Gal. 5:13; I Cor. 7:22). Liberation in this sense culminates in a voluntary slavery of love in which men become "servants of God" (I Pet. 2:16) and "slaves of all" (I Cor.

9:19; I Cor. 9:1; Mat. 17:27).

The freedom which the Christian possesses in Christ (Gal. 2:4; 4:31) signifies a redemptive liberation from fear and slavery (Rom. 8:15); from sin (Rom. 6:18-23; 8:2; Jn. 8:31-36; Tit. 2:14); from the Law (Acts 15:10; Rom. 7:3f.; 8:2; Gal. 2:4; 5:1, 13) which served to manifest sin (Rom. 7:7; 3:20); and from death (Rom. 6:22; 7:9-11; I Cor. 15:56). New Testament liberty is one of the essential results of faith (John 8:32f.). This liberty causes sin to lose its compelling power over the individual, allowing the believer to be free from the power of sin (Rom. 6:18, 8:2).

Freedom in the New Testament sense is considered to be a present possession (Gal. 5:1, 13; Rom. 6:18, 22). But there is also the idea of a future liberation, not only of individuals, but also of all of creation (Rom. 8:21). Even for the Christian, there is the hope of a greater liberty still to come. The liberty of the Holy Spirit is a liberty which belongs to the Christian now, but which is also a liberty still to come (Rom. 8:23-5; II Cor. 1:22; 5:5; Eph. 1:14).

One important question which must be raised relates to the type of slavery mentioned in the New Testament. Is this merely spiritual slavery, or does it include economic, political and social slavery? Also, does freedom as defined by the New Testament include freedom from overt oppression? It would seem that slavery as described in the New Testament is primarily spiritual slavery to the Law, sin and death, and freedom is more spiritual freedom than freedom from overt oppression. These two important questions will be discussed further after

Jesus' and Paul's definitions of freedom have been discussed.

A Liberating God Revealed in Jesus Christ

The God of the New Testament is a liberating God who has chosen to reveal himself in Jesus Christ, the Liberator who relates the freedom of God to the freedom of man. Luke's statement is a statement of Christian faith when he interprets Jesus' first speech in the synagogue in his home town as one in which Jesus stated the messianic expectation in social and political terms:

The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he has annointed me to preach good news to the poor; he has sent me to proclaim release to the captives and recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty those who are oppressed, to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord. (Luke 4:18, 19, R.S.V.)

Jesus himself viewed his ministry as being one of proclaiming liberty to the captives (Isa. 61:1; cf. Luke 4:18).

It is significant that the more humane treatment of slaves by the Hebrews was a direct consequence of their religion, and that in Isa. 61:1 'liberty' is a metaphor of what God was about to effect in history in releasing his people from Babylon. Jesus took the metaphor to its final stage when, preaching at Nazareth, he used it to indicate the deliverance wrought by his own coming (Luke 4:16-21).²⁰

The public ministry of Jesus began as one of liberation, as he declared that he had come to set Israelites free from the state of oppression in which he found them (Jn. 8:34-36, 41-44). He came to overthrow "the prince of this world," and to release his prisoners (Jn. 12:31f.;

²⁰Marsh, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

Mk. 3:27; Lk. 10:17f.).²¹ Christ came as the liberator who came to free people (Gal. 5:1), from the power of sin and evil so that they may serve God and other men freely (Rom. 8:21). The spirit of life in Christ liberated men from sin and from the fear of death (Rom. 6:18; 8:2; Heb. 2:15). Man's spiritual liberty comes from his being in Christ (Gal. 2:4). Though called to liberty (Gal. 5:13), the Christian must not make his freedom a pretext for misconduct (I Pet. 2:16) or a stumbling-block for others who are weaker (Rom. 14:20, 21).

The cross of Jesus is a liberating reality, God's way of overcoming evil in the world. The cross is one way of renouncing violence and the unjust existing social and economic order. The cross becomes the way of freeing man from the domination of oppressive structures. The cross expresses meaningfully the message of servanthood, the willingness to suffer for others. When coupled with the resurrection, the cross is seen as a path which ends in victory, in liberation of the whole man and the whole society. The crucified Christ becomes the Risen Lord, the one who is the hope of the world. Man is freed through faith in the one who died and rose again. The foundation for liberation has been laid. The revolution is coming.

The resurrection of Jesus was the central event for the primitive community. This event was recognized by the members of the

²¹ Cone, *op. cit.*, p. 42, emphasizes the importance of Christ's liberating ministry. According to Cone, the work of Christ is essentially a liberating work, directed toward and by the oppressed. Christ liberates not only the wretched of the earth, but also those responsible for the wretchedness.

community as the initial transformation of the earth, as the basis for firm faith, and as the conquest of death and sin. The new life, based on the resurrection of Jesus, was described in terms like peace, joy, hope, truth, and fullness. "Being in Christ" meant to be free, to be liberated.

The Bible continually reminds man of the possibility of change because the future is open. Things need not be as they are now, for there is hope. Liberation becomes a possibility when people see hope, when they have a vision of the possibilities of liberation from oppression. The eschatological hope of the Christian faith is that both man and society can be changed radically through faith and action. Christian hope frees man for the struggle against oppression as he sees new possibilities and acts in new ways. Hope frees one from becoming reconciled to the present so that new alternatives may be proposed and tried. Jose Miguez Bonino writes of the relation between Jesus and the struggle for liberation:

More and more Christians . . . are beginning to see that in their sometimes strange and even blasphemous insistence on identifying Jesus Christ and the fight for liberation, they are the true prophets. The Holy Spirit is calling all of us to repentance, understanding and obedience. It is at this point that our faith will be tested, our ability to proclaim Jesus Christ as the liberator. . . .

The real problem is that the alliance of missions and Western capitalistic expansion has distorted the Gospel beyond recognition, and that evangelism, prayer, worship and personal devotions have been held captive to an individualistic, other-worldly, success-crazy, legalistic destruction of the Gospel. (These things) do

not have to be abandoned. They have to be converted to Christ.
 . . . There is a need to convert everything we do to the Gospel
 of Jesus Christ.²²

God is continually involved in the process of liberation. Love is what he does to make man free, not just Christian man, but all men. God is not concerned that only Christian men be free. Rather, he desires that both masters and slaves be freed; both rich and poor. The Liberator says, "Behold, I am doing a new thing." "I make you hear new things, hidden things which you have not known. They are created now, not long ago" (Isa. 43:15-19; 48:6-7). In New Testament terms, "the old has passed away and a new thing has come" (II Cor. 5:17). God is continually regenerating, making new, giving freedom, changing, and remolding. Through the resurrection, God gives man hope because he gives a future, a future that is always open. God comes to man and comes again and again (Jer. 29:11). The great acts of God can be seen as acts of liberation in which a future is opened.

Paul's View of Liberation

Paul is the only one of the authors of the New Testament who made use of words derived from the noun "freedom." He uses the adjective *eleutheros* 16 times, the noun *eleutheria* 6 times, the verb *eleutheroo* 5 times, and *apeleutheros* once. The basic meaning of these words is a reference to a social reality: freedom as opposed to slavery, freedom of conscience, independence of external constraint

²²Jose Miguez Bonino, "The Present Crisis in Mission," *Church Herald*, XXXVI (November 12, 1971), 13.

and access to a world of action in which man's energy may be exerted.²³

The Greek philosophers and later the Stoics attempted to safeguard their "freedom," by which they meant the full possession of themselves, from the tyrants who threatened to conquer their "ego." Thus, in Stoic teaching, for example, freedom is man's control over menacing external existence by the conscious and deliberate control of his own soul.²⁴

The New Testament realizes that even in the retreat into inwardness, man is not free.

For in the New Testament it is evident that freedom is not absent because there is inadequate control of existence but because there is no control of it at all, and therefore no self-dominion. It realizes that existence is threatened by itself and not by something outside; it realizes that it is itself deficient, with all that it does. Hence to take oneself in hand is simply to grasp a deficient existence. Self-preservation by retreat into inwardness is merely a way of losing one's true self. In face of lost existence there is only one possibility of coming to oneself, and this is by surrender of one's own will to the will and power of an external force. Man attains to self-control by letting himself be controlled.²⁵

When Paul speaks of freedom from sin (Rom. 6:18-23; John 8:31-36), from the Law (Rom. 7:3f.; 8:2; Gal. 2:4; 4:21-31; 5:1, 13), and from death (Rom. 6:21f.; 8:21), the word *eleutheria* is used to express the idea of freedom as freedom from an existence which in sin leads through

²³These concepts were basic to Greek thought and were reflected in the social experience of the small towns, the "democracy," and the struggle against tyrants and later the war against the Persian despot. "Freedom" meant pride in independence, the right to do what one pleased, and the right to take part in the city government.

²⁴Gerhard Kittel (ed.) *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964), II, 496.

²⁵*Ibid.*

the Law to death. Existence in sin is one which is subject to sin (Rom. 6:20; cf. Jn. 8:34). Since the result of sin is lawlessness, indiscipline, and finally anarchy (Rom. 6:19b), the cure is to attack the cause behind the result, which is the concupiscent hunger of self-centered earthly and carnal life (the flesh, as Paul states it). Freedom from sin is thus freedom from man's physical desire for life, for himself.²⁶

The verb *eleutheroo* means to make free and is used of deliverance from sin (Rom. 6:18, 22), from the Law (Rom. 8:2; Gal. 5:1), and from the bondage of corruption (Rom. 8:21). The noun *eleutheria* is translated as liberty or freedom in such passages as Gal. 5:1. The phraseology is that of manumission from slavery, which among the Greeks was effected by a legal fiction, according to which the freed slave was purchased by a god. Since the slave could not provide the money, the master paid it into the temple treasury in the presence of the slave, and a document was drawn up containing the words "for freedom." No one could enslave him again, as he was the property of the god. The adjective *eleutheros* refers primarily to the freedom one has to go wherever one likes. In this sense, there is freedom from restraint and obligation in general (Rom. 7:3; I Cor. 7:39), freedom from the Law (Gal. 4:26), from sin, and freedom with regard to righteousness (Rom. 6:20). In a civil sense, this use of the adjective also refers to freedom from bondage or slavery (I Cor. 7:21; 12:13;

²⁶*Ibid.*, II, 496, 497.

Gal. 3:28; Eph. 6:8).²⁷

It is important to note that freedom is related to the Law. While the Law in itself is the holy, righteous and good will of God (Rom. 7:12), and is appointed for a style of life which consists in living for others in love (Rom. 13:9; Gal. 5:14), the existence of man is dominated by sin, by the self-will of being. Thus what was intended to be the claim of God made on all men, calling them to the fulfillment of God's will becomes that which brings out the sin of existence in experience (Rom. 7:7, 13; 3:20). The Law illustrates existence as dominated by sin and devoted to self-glory (Rom. 2:21). In this sense, Paul states that it is necessary that Christ free man from the Law (Gal. 5:1), and from such rites as circumcision for justification before God. Paul's use of the illustration of freedom from the obligation of circumcision is only one example of freedom from the Law as the way to God. Paul is concerned that the early Christians not use the Law as a pretext for doing the will of God, when the real motivation is to seek to satisfy one's own needs and do one's own will (Rom. 10:3; Phil. 3:9).

Freedom from the Law thus means specifically freedom from the moralism which awakens hidden self-seeking. It means freedom from the secret claim which man makes on himself in the form of legal demand. It means freedom from the meeting of this claim in the form of legal achievement. It means freedom from self-lordship before God in the guise of serious and obedient responsibility towards Him.²⁸

²⁷See William E. Vine, *An Expository Dictionary of New Testament Words* (Westwood, N.J.: Revell, 1952), pp. 130-132.

²⁸Kittel, *op. cit.*, II, 497.

Every Christian, according to Paul, has the essential right of freedom, which consists primarily in independence of the Law (Gal. 5:3) as a system of religious life. In Christ man has been set free and has become the "freeman" of God (I Cor. 7:22). Through Jesus man has come to know the true God and acknowledges dependence on him alone. The one who was a slave to himself, to sin and death, now becomes a child of God (Gal. 4:26-31) with all of the rights and privileges of a child, one of which is freedom.²⁹

In addition to bondage to the Law, the Christian lives in bondage to the flesh and to sin. Since where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is freedom (II Cor. 3:17), Paul may speak of the law of the Spirit as the law of life in Christ Jesus which has set man free from the law of sin and death (Rom. 8:2).³⁰ This does not imply that the Christian is outside of the "law of God," since he is bound by what Paul calls the "law of Christ" (I Cor. 9:21). Freedom is a new slavery, but one of justice (Rom. 6:18-20). Whereas, living by the flesh means to fall victim to death (Rom. 7:9-11), living by the law of the Spirit of Christ brings life. Sin carries death with it, for living in sin involves living by death (Rom. 6:23), in separation from God. In death, sin achieves its being in a real sense. Evil is

²⁹While Paul does advise slaves to seek freedom (I Cor. 7:21), he also states that there is no distinction in Christ between slave and free (I Cor. 12:13; Gal. 3:28; Eph. 6:8; Col. 3:11).

³⁰James speaks of a "law of freedom" (James 1:25; 2:12), a "law of the Spirit" which is opposed to the law of sin and death spoken of by Paul in Romans 8:2.

external to the true nature of man (Romans, chapter 5). Human freedom opened the door to evil, but human freedom cannot, alone, eradicate evil without the assistance of the grace of God. Man is not able to liberate himself apart from God. This liberation is not only liberation *from* the powers of sin, the law and death, but liberation *for* doing good works and serving God. True freedom, for Paul, involves not only struggling against evil, but also creating the good. Evil helps man in the liberating process by demanding that man choose.

The Christian doctrine of sin is important in an adequate theology of liberation because it views alienation, injustice, and oppression as conditions which must be changed.³¹ Not only the oppressors but also the structures of society are fallen and involved in a struggle between good and evil. The doctrine of the fall of man reminds us that man is not all that he was meant to be. It is not sufficient to describe the corrupt nature of social institutions and structures. All alienation cannot be blamed on the effect of society upon us.

Freedom is related to the grace of God in the sense that man is not under the law (I Cor. 9:1, 19; 10:29), but under grace (Rom. 6:14). Christian liberation is part of a new order of things which

³¹ Gutierrez, *A Theology of Liberation*, p. 35, states that sin represents "a selfish turning in upon oneself. To sin is to refuse to love one's neighbors and, therefore, the Lord himself. Sin--a breach of friendship with God and others--is according to the Bible the ultimate cause of poverty, injustice, and the oppression in which men live."

God has inaugurated in Jesus Christ, the Liberator. The new relationship with God and other persons is a free gift to the believer, and is to be enjoyed in freedom. The believer has been discharged from the yoke of the Law (Rom. 7:6), from the authority of sin and death (Rom. 6:18, 22; 8:2), and from condemnation (Rom. 8:1), so that he or she may enjoy the new liberty God has given as a free, adopted son (Rom. 8:14-17; cf. Matt. 17:26). Slavery to the law, sin and death is exchanged for slavery to God in Christ, which is really a description of a state of freedom under the perfect law of liberty (James 1:25). The Christian has been freed from the power of sin so that he or she may become the servant of righteousness and justice (Rom. 6:18,22). The Christian becomes free from sin (Rom. 6:18-23; cf. Jn. 8:31-36), free from the obligation of observing the Jewish law (Rom. 7:3ff.; 8:2; I Cor. 10:29; Gal. 2:4; 4:21-31; 5:1-13), and free from death (Rom. 6:21ff.; 8:21). It is Christ who frees the Christian (Gal. 5:1) from the power of sin (Jn. 8:31ff.), but this freedom remains a freedom under discipline brought about by obedience (Rom. 6:17f.). Christ delivers man from slavery to his own desires (Rom. 7:3-25) and instills in man a new law, the law of love (Gal. 5:13). The old law is replaced by the new law of love which frees (James 1:25; 2:12). This freedom is present wherever the Spirit of the Lord is (II Cor. 3:17).

In other words, Christ liberates persons from the destructive influences to which they were in bondage: the influences of sin, the wages of which are death (Rom. 6:18-23); from the law as a system of salvation which stirred sin up and gave it its strength (Gal. 4:21ff.;

5:1; Rom. 6:14; 7:5-13; 8:2; I Cor. 15:56); from what Paul calls the "powers of darkness" (Col. 1:13); and from the burden of Jewish ceremonialism (Gal. 2:4). This implies freedom or liberation from the bondage of indwelling sin (Rom. 7:14, 23) and from physical corruption and death (Rom. 8:18-21). The old man is crucified with Christ (Rom. 6:6); he is "laid aside like a garment" (Col. 3:9; Eph. 4:22). The old man has gone, and a completely new creation appears (II Cor. 5:17; Gal. 6:15), a creation which gives evidences of newness of life (II Cor. 5:17), and that signifies a fullness of existence (Gal. 4:4; Eph. 1:10).

This liberation is possible, for Paul, through the act of Jesus Christ who has made the believer free (Gal. 5:1) through his substitutionary death for men in obedience to the will of God. Men are made free as the Son surrenders his own life. Christ, through his death, brought his people out of bondage (I Cor. 6:20; 7:22f.). It is the Spirit of God who conveys present freedom to the believers, and who unites them to Christ through faith (Rom. 8:2; II Cor. 3:17). Liberation is accompanied by adoption (Gal. 4:5); those set free from sin and guilt become sons of God and receive the Spirit of Christ as the Spirit of adoption (Gal. 4:6f; Rom. 8:15f.). Man responds to the divine gift of liberation (*eleutheria*) by becoming a servant of God (Rom. 6:17-22) and of righteousness (Rom. 6:18). He also becomes a servant of other men (I Cor. 9:19-23) and of Christ (II Cor. 4:5). As such, Christian liberty is neither an abolishing of responsibility nor a sanctioning of license, but rather a means of serving others through

living a life of love as a response of gratitude which the liberating gospel both requires and evokes. Christian liberty is freedom for loving service to God and men.³²

Paul in Galatians 4:31-5:1 explains that Christ has made the Christian free, and that he is not to be caught under the yoke of slavery. The "freedom for freedom" is obtained in faith. Faith opens the dimensions of freedom and destroys the old servitude to sin and death and to the Law which bears witness to sin and death. Through faith the Christian is able to preserve the freedom from sin, the law and death. To the extent that the Christian believes in God, he is said by Paul to be "in Christ," with God abiding in him through the Holy Spirit. He has entered into a new existence in which the law, sin and death are overcome. The result is freedom. Gutierrez states:

Christ thus appears as the Saviour who, by liberating us from sin, liberates us from the very root of social injustice. The entire dynamism of human history, the struggle against all that depersonalizes man--social inequalities, misery, exploitation--have their origin, are sublimated, and reach their plenitude in the salvific work of Christ.³³

While neither Paul nor Jesus discuss the slavery issue from its more material or concrete perspective as a social issue, the implications

³²Dietrich Bonhoeffer, *Creation and Fall, Temptation* (New York: Macmillan, 1966), p. 37, defines freedom in the language of the Bible, not as something "man has for others. . . . It is not a possession, a presence, an object, . . . but a relationship and nothing else. In truth, freedom is a relationship between two persons. Being free means 'being free for the other,' because the other has bound me to him. Only in relationship with the other am I free." The fullness of liberation, a free gift from Christ, is communion with God and with other men.

³³Gutierrez, "Notes for a Theology of Liberation," p. 257.

of their positions could be extended to include all types of social injustice. This is what some of the Latin American theologians such as Gutierrez are doing. This is why Gutierrez states above that Christ liberates man from sin, and in so doing, liberates him from the very root of social injustice. The same principle may be applied to overt oppression. While the New Testament does not explicitly state that freedom in the religious sense includes freedom from overt oppression, it would seem that spiritual freedom would include the freedom of the whole person and the freedom of social institutions, for example, from the tendency to enslave those who participate in those institutions. In other words, there can be no purely "spiritual freedom" or "spiritual slavery."

The Concept of Liberation in the Early Church

The early Christians had a "revolutionary God, releasing revolutionary power through a revolutionary community, in revolutionary action."³⁴ Christianity was cradled in a revolutionary context, and spread among people who were oppressed. The early Christian Church preached a liberating gospel which was related to the oppressed: the outcasts, the downtrodden, the slaves, thieves and prostitutes. The liberating good news of Jesus as proclaimed by the early Church expected that radical changes take place both in man and in society.

³⁴A statement made by Leighton Ford, in an address delivered on September 9, 1969, to the United States Congress on Evangelism at Minneapolis. See Leighton Ford, "Evangelism in a Day of Revolution," *Christianity Today*, XIV (October 24, 1969), 64.

The message of the early Church was one which proclaimed that Jesus Christ came to establish a new order, and to reconcile men with God and with one another (II Cor. 5:11-21; Col. 1:15-23; Ef. 2:11, 22). This new order includes transformed individuals who have been justified by faith and are thus new creatures who are able to cooperate or collaborate with God in the total liberation of other individuals. The one who has been made new by the transforming action of the Holy Spirit, is called to participation in the liberation of other men and also of nature. This involves cooperation with God in Christ, the Liberator, the Lord of history, in the process of making all things new.

Jesus Christ was proclaimed as the one who generates in the liberation process a state of justice among all men and opposes any factors which contribute to social injustice. By reconciling man with God, Jesus has laid the foundation for reconciliation, one of the factors which will contribute to social justice. And in reconciling man with God and neighbor, man is better able to be reconciled with nature. Being liberated by God means that one is now better suited to continue cooperating with God in the total liberation of all men and of society. This involves the elimination of those factors which contribute to social injustice.

One important aspect of the liberation process is that of understanding man as subject rather than object, a view which has Biblical basis. All men must be given the dignity of being allowed to participate in the decision-making processes. While liberation by Christ involves being considered as a subject rather than an object,

and acting accordingly, often a given situation does not permit an individual to act responsibly and freely. Thus, not only individuals but also systems and structures and entire societies must be liberated by the power of the Gospel. Jesus has laid the foundation for this type of transformation by demonstrating what justice means. Justice is part of the new order which Jesus Christ introduced in history. The new order is opposed to the old order and often can be initiated only through confrontation. The new order is established as society is humanized and made more harmonious through the liberating power of Christ. Reconciliation offers the hope of liberation, not in the distant future, but soon, as Christ reconciles men and women and forms a new humanity built upon love (Gal. 6:15). This new humanity is one in which such idealistic terms as harmony, love, truth and justice replace antagonism, hate, prejudice and rejection. In this type of radical transformation, Christianity offers concrete substance to any liberation movement, and more important than any type of general principles, it offers the Liberator who becomes the one who transforms man and society.

Jesus Christ is the generator of the process of human liberation. On the one hand, it may be said that Jesus Christ overcomes the powerful elite and gives hope to the oppressed. The Christian faith proclaims Jesus as Lord of both the oppressor and the oppressed (Acts 10:36; Rev. 19:16), and of all creation. As the one who has overcome the powers of this world, it must be said that he is Lord of the oppressors. All power has been given over to Christ in order that he

may administer justly and honestly (Rom. 13:1ff.), but this cannot be done in situations in which powerful elites do not allow the masses of the population to have a voice. The oppressors must become, like Jesus, humble servants who seek the good of all concerned. For this to occur, a transformation must take place in both the oppressor and in the oppressed. The oppressor is called, as was the rich young ruler, to share his wealth and power with the oppressed (Matt. 19:16-30; Mark 10:17-31; Luke 18:18-30). Along with this, Jesus gives power to the oppressed so that they may be liberated, and contribute to the liberation of the oppressor. This involves conflict and perhaps even violence. It involves crucifixion and resurrection. The power of the Gospel enters into conflict with the power of the oppressor. The movements for liberation which are acting in Third World countries are expressions, in many cases, of this power of the Gospel, and of the activity of God in the midst of men, calling them to participate in the struggle for the reconciliation of all men to God and to each other in a new day of justice.

The basis and origin of man's freedom lies in the freedom of God, the freedom of his grace setting man free in Christ. This freedom is made present by the Holy Spirit (II Cor. 3:17). The Church becomes the community of those who are truly liberated in Christ, those who because of their own liberation seek to cooperate in the liberation of all men everywhere, through loving service of neighbor and community.³⁵

³⁵The people of God were not meant to be the establishment,

One of the means by which Jesus Christ liberates men and society is through this liberated community which cooperates or should cooperate in the total process of liberation. The Church has been called to share in the humanizing of society by cooperating in the liberating action of Jesus Christ in the world. In this process man becomes a subject, as mentioned previously, who participates actively in making the Lordship of Christ effective among men. As the Church is one with its Lord, she is able to share in proclaiming the good news of the continual action of Christ in the liberation of man from oppression. Concretely, this liberation may be seen in the liberation of the oppressed masses through numerous means, such as the one to be described in Chapter Four: liberation through education.³⁶ The means are liberating worship, fellowship, service, and social action. The liberating action of Jesus Christ calls Christians to live in communion with the brother and the neighbor, as new men and women who are willing to be liberated and to share in the liberation of all men.

but rather pilgrims, sojourners, strangers and aliens. Abraham left his home to follow the calling of God in a foreign land. The prophets saw the faithful as a remnant, and even Jesus did not have a permanent home or a place to lay his head. The Christian is described as a stranger in contrast to one who is a citizen (Hebrews 11:13). He is one who is a temporary resident, a refugee in this world (I Peter 2:11). He lives in the world, but does not belong to the world (John 17:16). He is a liberating revolutionary who is concerned that men and society be transformed radically.

³⁶Implied in this position is the assumption that the Church will be actively engaged in the struggles against oppression and injustice, wherever they may be found.

THE RELATION BETWEEN A CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY OF LIBERATION AND MARXISM

While Christians admit that they have no prefabricated economic or political system to put over against Marxism, they also are discovering that increasing numbers of Marxists now have profound doubts about the validity of any total Marxist world view or social system. This calls for a new vitality and creativity in Christian thought to meet the challenge of increased dialogue and cooperation. Richard Shaull describes one example of the type of thinking which is resulting from a renewed interest by both Marxists and Christians in the masses:

. . . a fundamental step in the process of national development must be the awakening of the masses to an awareness of their situation and their vocation in changing it. For only such new awareness will make it possible for the masses to discover their self-identity, break out of their former inertia, and find the possibility of a more human existence. And in a society where the power structures are controlled by the old order, the organization of peasants, slum dwellers, and industrial workers, and their united efforts to bring about social change, becomes one of the most essential elements in the process.³⁷

As the Church continues to think seriously about her social teachings and the problems of the societies in which she is working, it is possible for Christians, as never before, to reflect from within the Church about the needs of the world, the local community, and the radical changes needed urgently. In the past, when Christian young

³⁷Richard Shaull, "The Church and Revolutionary Change: Contrasting Perspectives," in Henry A. Landsberger (ed.) *The Church and Social Change in Latin America* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1970), p. 145.

people became aware of the problems of their society and took a revolutionary position, they often felt uneasy within the Church and frequently abandoned it. With new attempts to analyze the social, economic, and political conditions surrounding her, there is less need to leave the Church in order that persons may participate responsibly in the liberation process. More than 400 delegates at the first meeting of Christians for Socialism in Santiago, Chile, affirmed:

There is an increasing awareness of a strategic alliance between revolutionary Christians and Marxists in the process of liberation of the continent. . . . This is a strategic alliance which means working together in a common political action toward a historic project of liberation. This historic identification in political action does not mean an abandonment of their faith by the Christians. On the contrary, it means a new dynamic in their Christian hope for the future.³⁸

The Marxist Critique

Marx criticized the Christian "spiritualizing" of the concept of liberation and the apparent acceptance of certain forms of slavery. According to Marx, man is enslaved, "alienated," broken in his own being, truncated, and unwhole. This situation is not due to the fall of man, or to sin, but to the separation of the worker from the product of his work. The means of production are in the wrong hands. Although he receives a salary for his work, the worker has no intrinsic relation to his creative act. His effort becomes something independent of him, alienating him from other men. Alienated work separates man

³⁸ Latin American Meeting of Christians for Socialism. 1st, Santiago, April, 1972. *Final Document*, p. 39.

from his own body, from nature, from his spiritual being. Productive forces become more and more destructive.

Marx called for the liberation of man's whole being (as does Christianity).³⁹ The historic agents of revolution or liberation are the members of the industrial working class, the proletariat. This class is partially free prior to its liberation because it is free from the competitiveness and aggressiveness of the capitalist system. Thus the proletariat must begin the revolution of the capitalist society in order that a new socialist society may be constructed, a system that requires a new type of man with new needs, capable of living a different way of life. In this new society, man would be free to work without being exploited. Humanization is involved here as man overthrows the oppressive, capitalist system in which the means of production are in the hands of a privileged few.

A Christian Response to Marxism

Just as Marx was stimulated by Christian concepts, so too Christianity has profited from Marxism. Christianity at times has become the opiate of the people. Marxism has helped Christianity in certain moments of recent history to turn toward the working masses. Marxism has helped Christians focus upon such problems as political and economic power (Christians observe that there is a monopoly of

³⁹Liberty or freedom has to do with man's whole being, and not with abstract and privileged inwardness opposed to the rest of his being and relationship. Liberty cannot be separated from corporal, historical, social and political reality.

power even in Marxism). Christians cannot withdraw from world politics, leaving a vacuum that is often filled by Marxist systems which are as oppressive as the capitalist systems they replace. Unfortunately, neither Christianity nor Marxism have been able to eliminate alienation, either in production or in human relations. The Marxist economic theory has been useful to many of this writer's friends to explain capitalist excess in Chile. Also, the Marxist stress on humanization as a process is positive.

While both socialism and Christianity have made and will continue to make positive contributions to the liberation process, socialism cannot, in this writer's opinion, really liberate mankind.⁴⁰ While a certain redistribution of wealth is occurring in socialist countries, and perhaps to a lesser degree in capitalist countries, there is little redistribution of power in either, with apparently less redistribution in socialist countries. Certain socialist countries have order at the expense of personal freedom, and some capitalist countries have more freedom at the expense of justice. However, the Christian is bound neither by capitalist nor socialist systems. Rather, he searches for creativity to be a "man for others" wherever he may live. The Christian understands that God is involved in history and that he opens new possibilities just as he revealed a new

⁴⁰Of course, comparisons might well be made between capitalism and communism, or between certain democratic systems and communism rather than between Christianity and communism. However, since we are concerned with the "theology of liberation," this writer has chosen to consider Christianity and communism.

possibility to Israel in their event of liberation, the Exodus. In Jesus of Nazareth, God expressed his solidarity with men, particularly with those who are oppressed and poor. And both Christians and Marxists can cooperate in their solidarity with the oppressed, although perhaps for different reasons. Both work for such goals as freedom, justice, and a richer life, although from different perspectives and with different goals in mind. Both hold a revolutionary perspective on social change. Both form radical communities which work for the shaping of life and action in society. Both have their theory and their means of implementing that theory in action. Both are concerned with the economic betterment of mankind.

Christianity frees man for self-giving love, a love concerned for the whole man in his actual situation. This is a love which reconciles man to God in Jesus Christ, and also reconciles him to his fellow man. This love is built upon faith in God and faith in one's neighbor. It is a love which accepts, which relates, and which establishes the dignity and worth of each individual. It is a love which often reveals itself in sacrifice, self-denial and action for the betterment of the life of the "Thou" in relation with the "I." And it is a love which becomes involved in the revolutionary struggle for the liberation and humanization of man. This is a love which builds a world of peace and justice by uniting with others for the freeing of all man. This love recognizes the true revolutionary imperative present in Marxism and tries to stir that flame and cooperate with it through dialogue and social action. W. A. Visser 't Hooft writes:

Christians should ask why communism in its modern totalitarian form makes so strong an appeal to great masses of people in many parts of the world. They should recognize the hand of God in the revolt of multitudes against injustice that gives communism much of its strength. They should seek to recapture for the Church the original Christian solidarity with the world's distressed people, not to curb their aspirations toward justice, but, on the contrary, to go beyond them and direct them towards the only road that does not lead to a blank wall, obedience to God's will and His justice. Christians should realize that for many, especially for many young men and women, communism seems to stand for a vision of human equality and universal brotherhood for which they were prepared by Christian influences. Christians who are beneficiaries of capitalism should try to see the world as it appears to many who know themselves excluded from its privileges and who see in communism a means of deliverance from poverty and insecurity.⁴¹

According to Jürgen Moltmann, some Marxists hope to receive from Christians the dimension of transcendence lacking in Marxism, as well as help in the search for meaning sometimes absent in the Marxist struggle for political and economic revolution. At times, however, Christians do not appreciate enough the element of transcendence to be of help to Marxists. Moltmann quotes a passage from Professor Milan Prucha, a Marxist scholar in Prague:

Our Christian friends have awakened in us the courage for transcendence. Should it not, rather, be our task to encourage the Christians to be more radical in their striving for transcendence.⁴²

Dialogue, however, is only a beginning. It must be accompanied by positive, cooperative action. One of the areas of possible collaboration is in the process of liberation. This does not mean that all

⁴¹World Council of Churches. 1st Assembly. *Official Report* (New York: Harper & Row, 1949), p. 78.

⁴²Jürgen Moltmann, *Religion, Revolution and the Future* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1969), p. 64.

revolutionary activity has theological permission, not that many Christians will not continue to be pacifists in their orientation. Nor does it mean that liberation will signify the same thing to both Christians and Marxists. But it does give Christians the opportunity to participate in the revolution in an attempt to make revolutionary changes as non-violently as possible.⁴³

THE CONTEXT OF SOCIAL CHANGE:

LIBERATION THROUGH DEVELOPMENT OR REVOLUTION

What is the context of social change: development or liberation; reform or revolution? If development is the context, the term must be defined. Development may imply only economic growth measured in terms of GNP or per capita income. Or it may refer to global social process with its economic, social, political, and cultural aspects. The stress is on *having* more in order *to be more* with humanity taking charge of its own destiny. The term "development" does not really signify what is meant by "liberation," but it may be an aspect of the liberating process.

The *liberation* of a people more adequately involves overcoming the economic, social, political, and cultural dependence of some

⁴³Hannah Arendt, *On Revolution* (New York: Viking Press, 1965), p. 18, challenges the claim that all modern revolutions are essentially Christian in origin. She says that it has been the force of modern secularization and not the gospel which gave rise to revolution. It is her contention that prior to the modern age no revolution was ever made in the name of Christ. Christianity needed modernity, says Arendt, to liberate the revolutionary germs of the faith.

peoples on others than does *development*. History becomes the process in which man is emancipated from the oppressor in order that he might live a fully human life, free of servitude. Man becomes an agent of history in this process of liberation.

For the Christian, political liberation of oppressed peoples and social classes is not enough, for man must be liberated from sin as a condition of a life of communion of all men with God. But the one is impossible without the other. Political liberation may involve revolt, but this is not necessarily revolution.⁴⁴ Most North American Christians cannot understand the revolutionary impulses in the third world because of a lack of understanding of the meaning of liberation or revolution. Too often the goal is set in terms of aid which will increase development in terms of economic gain without changing the social, political, and religious conditions which are at the root of the problems. This type of development is not liberation.

The Process of Liberation in Latin America

Historically both Roman Catholicism and Protestantism are partially responsible for some of the problems that the present revolutionary mood wishes to solve in Latin America. Emilio Castro states:

⁴⁴Herbert Marcuse distinguishes between a revolution and a revolt in his *Essay on Liberation* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1969), p. viii. Marcuse considers that *revolt* is possible in American cities or on campuses, but *revolution* is impossible because the working class has too great a stake in the status quo.

When the Spanish Crown established the system of *encomiendas* by which the Indians had to work for their Spanish bosses, a fundamental concern was to help with the Christianizing of the Indian masses. It was understood that this was the responsibility of the *encomendero*. In practice this led to a patriarchal system by which the Christian religion remained definitively tied to the governing elite.⁴⁵

Castro goes on to state that since teaching the catechism was seen as the responsibility of the powerful, the Roman Catholic Church was allied with the powerful. As the dominant elite willed property to the Roman Catholic Church, it became a powerful landowner, allied with the great landowners. Protestants too shared the same attitudes toward community problems by keeping aloof.⁴⁶ Protestant immigrants attempted to preserve their language and customs by isolating themselves and by taking a theological position which was more related to their homelands than to the needs of the country in which they lived. Likewise, the churches of missionary origin took on an attitude of aloofness. Castro states:

The theological basis for this attitude may lie in a doctrine of individual holiness, which makes personal perfection the goal of the Christian life. But here also there may be a cultural reason: the missionary, by virtue of his foreignness, is aloof from the thinking about community affairs and takes an attitude of hellenic superiority above them, saying that the best contribution the Church can make is to create 'new men' for the Latin American society.⁴⁷

⁴⁵Castro, *op. cit.*, p. 160.

⁴⁶*Ibid.* "It (Protestantism) arrived on the scene slightly more than 100 years ago. Today it represents only about five per cent of the population, unevenly scattered. Twenty per cent is the figure in Haiti, 13 per cent in Chile, five per cent in Brazil, two per cent in Uruguay," says Castro.

⁴⁷*Ibid.*, p. 161.

Even when national leadership changes this overemphasis on individualism, it tends to proclaim great principles to be applied in the life of society without being concrete, without applying these ideas in the difficult arena of social and political struggle.

Therefore when the revolution comes--and inevitably it has hard and disagreeable aspects--the first reaction is that of rejection, for this is hard to square with the purity of the principles maintained.⁴⁸

But this type of ideological purity is not possible for long, says Castro, when one remembers that a child dies of hunger every 42 seconds in northeast Brazil, or when one sees the plight of the urban areas or the misery of rural society. Also, the world continually calls the church to action through the voices of university students, Communist leaders, rural workers, labor union leaders and members, or religious leaders. Thirdly, both Roman Catholics and Protestants are seriously studying the Latin American economic situation and are calling the Church to rethink its social responsibility and the meaning of community. On the other side, Castro reminds us that there are other Christians who adopt different approaches before finding a genuine position:

There is the temptation to reason on the basis of fear, felt especially by Protestant missionaries from North America and in Catholic circles by the Spanish clergy. 'Did not Cuba end up being a Communist country?' A conservative and timid person desires to strengthen the middle-of-the-road parties but knows that this is impossible due to the inevitable social polarization.⁴⁹

⁴⁸*Ibid.*

⁴⁹*Ibid*

The opposite extreme is to reason on the basis of despair. "No future situation can be worse than the present, so let us seek to change it by cooperating with anybody."

There is an attitude of anxiety among some because of the limitations of the economic development programs of the fifties which were to modernize society or industrialize the Latin American countries. This development was supposed to solve the problems of the underdeveloped countries. In the 1960's a more pessimistic diagnostic replaced the former optimistic one.⁵⁰ Some Latin American thinkers began to see that underdevelopment is really an historical subproduct of the development of other countries. Capitalistic economies produce greater wealth for a few persons, but greater poverty for the masses.⁵¹ The result is that the poor, dominated countries keep falling farther and farther behind. Therefore, many Latin Americans within and without the Church are confident that Latin America cannot develop within the capitalistic system.

This type of economic and cultural domination is related to liberation. For many, this liberation will include liberation from domination by capitalist countries, and resistance to the tendency to fall under the domination of socialist countries when capital technology and other resources from capitalist countries are reduced. Many groups

⁵⁰Cf. Felipe Herrera, "Viabilidad de una comunidad latinoamericana," *Estudios Internacionales*, IX (April 1967).

⁵¹Cf. G. Arroyo, "Pensamiento latinoamericano sobre subdesarrollo y dependencia externa," *Mensaje*, CLXXIII (October 1968), 516-20.

feel that only a profound transformation, a social revolution, will radically change both the internal and external conditions which cause the present situation. Those who are fighting for the liberation of the Latin masses are usually Marxist-oriented rather than religiously inspired, and the general feeling is that this liberation will be violent.

The Role of the Church in the Liberating Process

One of the fundamental tasks of the Church today is that of proclaiming Christ's Gospel, initiating and supporting movements for greater social justice, working toward the liberation of oppressed peoples, and trying to create alternatives to oppression, domination, and exploitation.⁵² The Church is called upon to be the agent of liberation wherever there is suffering, distress, imprisonment, starvation, helplessness, and exploitation of the poor. The Church has a tremendous responsibility, as stated by Gutierrez:

In Latin America the Church must realize that it exists in a continent undergoing revolution, where violence is present in different ways. The 'world' in which the Christian community is called on to live and celebrate its eschatological hope is one in social revolution. Its mission must be achieved keeping that in account. The Church has no alternative.⁵³

Gonzalo Castillo Cardenas asks the following questions:

⁵²"Latin America and the World Division" (New York: Joint Commission on Education and Cultivation of the Board of Missions of the United Methodist Church, 1972), p. 25.

⁵³Gutierrez, "Notes for a Theology of Liberation," p. 260.

In the middle of this revolution-in-process, the Christian suffers as he is besieged by tormenting questions. Should he isolate himself, take refuge in personal piety, flee contamination in search of his own salvation? Or would it be better for him to intervene in the situation in order to help avoid an abrupt change, seeking to preserve the established order with the hope of being able--gradually--to purify, improve, and humanize it? Or should he perhaps give himself over, heart and soul, to a revolutionary program, proving his loyalty to the gospel by his identification with this program or party?⁵⁴

The Church in general and Christians in particular are being required to make agonizing decisions, as they attempt to denounce an evil social and political order, and seek to construct a new society for which a blueprint does not yet exist. Certainly these tasks are part of the mission of the Church, but not confined to the Church. Frequently, the Church finds herself completely outside the arena of activity in which the liberating process is actively moving ahead. Also, a lack of Biblical and theological reflection concerning the process of liberation makes it appear that movements such as Marxism offer the only possibilities for mankind, because of the concrete answers and specific remedies that they offer. The alternatives are often not clear as the ambiguities of the revolution make seemingly impossible demands on the Church. Christians must struggle continually with the implications of the Gospel of Christ for the whole life of the people, particularly the liberation of the oppressed.

The possibility of neutrality does not exist. Either we are side by side with our people, or we turn our backs on them. . . . Not to define ourselves is to reinforce the existing disorder; it is

⁵⁴Gonzalo Castillo Cardenas, "Protestant Christianity in Latin America," *Student World*, LVII:1 (1964), 65.

to accept the present as just; it is, in all, to deny our people and to deny Jesus Christ, who was incarnated in a man, as a poor and suffering man, and as such, brought His message of love and liberation to all mankind.⁵⁵

The Methodist Church in Bolivia defines its role in the liberating process as follows:

Our reason for existing is found in the Gospel of Jesus Christ, which implies the full humanizing of man, the carrying out of God's purpose for the man he has created and redeemed. It has to do with liberation, a salvation, which extends to all aspects of man; his soul and his eternal destiny but also his historical, material, individual and social being. This is the message of the Bible which we proclaim and desire to incarnate.⁵⁶

This liberating process has begun in many countries of Latin America. The Church has only to decide whether or not it will participate, and, if it will, when, how, where, as well as why. The Church must decide if it will cooperate with movements that seek social changes, but do not hide their hatred of the Church. Also, the Church must decide if it will participate in the violence that revolutionary liberation involves. And the Church (Catholicism and Protestantism) must decide if it wishes to remain a "ghetto Church" or not. Even Protestants enjoy advantages in numerous countries which prohibit the type of prophetic involvement that is imperative. There is an urgent need for a deeper understanding of the thinking and actions of the Christian youth as they participate in more and more radical political

⁵⁵"A Time of Challenge," remarks made by Latin American guests at the Annual Meeting of the Board of Missions of The United Methodist Church, Minneapolis, Minn. (October 1971).

⁵⁶"Manifesto to the Nation," The Evangelical Methodist Church of Bolivia (March 1970).

movements while leaving the more traditional churches. Even the Christian Democratic parties of several countries such as Chile have strong popular support, but do not receive even minimal Protestant vote. Political polarization is occurring rapidly in many church organizations, and more and more clergy are becoming involved in the liberating movements. There is increased cooperation between Marxists and Christians, and between other non-Marxist leftists and religious groups and individuals. Also, there is increased tension between the higher leaders of the churches and the clergy, and between clergy and laity.

Church leadership, especially Roman Catholic leadership, is making rather daring social statements.⁵⁷ The Roman Catholic Church in several countries has turned over small amounts of their land holdings to the government reform program.⁵⁸ But in almost all of the statements, there is little reference to the Church's solidarity with Latin America's plight. Some Catholic and Protestant leaders realize that social revolution is no longer a theoretical option, but rather it is a fact of life. The Church is slowly becoming a community which is relating to the world's problems. The question is how. Should the

⁵⁷Cf. the published document of the Methodist Church of Bolivia to the government of Bolivia; "Mensaje a los pueblos de America latina," *Documentacion de Medellin* (Latin America Bishops' Conference in Colombia, August-September 1968); Renato Poblete, "Conferencia de CELAM en Medellin," *Mensaje*, CLXXIII (October 1968), 495-500.

⁵⁸Especially in Chile and Ecuador, the Roman Catholic Church has begun an experiment of land reform with its own lands.

Church stress development, or should it encourage "evolutionary liberation? which stresses change by whittling away at the barriers and by building bridges to achieve some social justice? Or is a third possibility mentioned by William Wipfler a more realistic approach:

The third position is more militant. It consists of those who think that true development requires a break with the present system and the adoption of new forms of social and political organization. Such a radical break is rightly called revolutionary, with proponents more or less prepared to resort to strategies which involve violence. Non-violent revolutionary strategies, of the sort developed in the U.S. racial struggle, have not, to date, captured the imagination of more than a few Latin American leaders. Christians, both Catholic and Protestant, are to be found in each camp.⁵⁹

This more militant position attempts to reduce the power of the minorities by giving the majorities more freedom. If the minorities do not resist violently, the revolution can be peaceful. In one case, Chile, this revolution began in the ballot box through the election of a Marxist-oriented president.

One wonders if it is possible to renew the Church without renewing Latin American society. Some Christians argue that the more important struggle is the struggle for a new social order which implies working for political, economic, and social advances through involvement in political groups and movements. The Cuban Church, for example, is passing through a period of renewal after the revolution which probably would not have been possible before.⁶⁰ It would seem to this

⁵⁹Donald A. McGavran, "Missions: Passive and Active," *Presbyterian Journal*, XXV (August 2, 1967), 9.

⁶⁰Gonzalo Castillo Cardenas, "Los cristianos y la lucha por un nuevo orden social en America Latina," *Cristianismo y Sociedad*, IV:12 (1966), 88.

writer that it is possible to work for the renewal of the Church, the liberation of mankind, and the transformation of society all at the same time.

For some, such as "Church and Society in Latin America," the social revolution is identified as "also the revolution of the Church."⁶¹ When the Church participates in the social revolution, she is doing the will of God. "The impulse which seeks to transform the structures of society . . . is the total, only and true mission, and not only a partial aspect of it."⁶² Joaquin Beato states that the prophetic mission of the Church involves the "offer of an interpretation of the historical revolutionary movement in which we live, in the light of God's total purpose."⁶³ Rubem Alves summarizes the role of the Church in the following manner:

In order to impart life to the world, the church should remember that she is challenged to renounce her own life for the world's benefit. A grain of wheat remains alone unless it falls into the ground and dies. But if it dies, it produces a rich harvest. The church cannot avoid such a risk when it is playing with matters of life and death. Whenever the purpose of God for man and society is found in danger, the church should assume the risk and be crucified. This crucifixion can appear to be a total defeat. According to human standards, the church may have come to its end. She has to face the reality of the captivity. But only by this pathway, the pathway of risk, can she find security.

⁶¹"Iglesia y sociedad en america latina," *America hoy, accion de dios y responsabilidad del hombre* (1966), 16.

⁶²*Ibid.*, pp. 16, 17.

⁶³Joaquin Beato, "La mision profetica de la iglesia evangelica en america latina," *La naturaleza de la iglesia y su mision en latino-america* (1963), p. 27.

Only through captivity can she become free, only through death can she begin to live; to live truly not for her own self, but for the world.⁶⁴

For Alves, the life of the Church in the present is understood as participation in the ongoing sufferings of Christ in and for the world.⁶⁵

The community identifies with the sufferings "of the slaves, the outcasts, the hopeless and futureless man, weak and impotent, the wretched of the earth."⁶⁶ Harvey Cox states a similar idea in this way:

The starting point for any theology of the church today must be a theology of social change. The church is first of all a responding community, a people whose task it is to discern the action of God in the world and join in His work.⁶⁷

Or in an article by Richard Shaull quoting Arthur Rich, Shaull affirms the following:

Christian existence is revolutionary existence, and the Church's service to the world is that of being the 'pioneer of every social reform' without making any claims for Christianity or trying to Christianize the revolution.⁶⁸

While this writer agrees with the spirit of the above quotes, putting this type of theory into concrete action is a more difficult matter. Christians in Latin America are divided, as are the churches.

⁶⁴Rubem Alves, "Injusticia y rebelion," *Cristianismo y sociedad*, II:6 (1964), 53.

⁶⁵Alves quotes Rom. 8:17; II Cor. 1:5; Gal. 6:17; Phil. 3:11; I Peter 4:13 to support this affirmation.

⁶⁶Rubem Alves, *A Theology of Human Hope* (Washington: Corpus Books, 1969), p. 121.

⁶⁷Harvey Cox, *The Secular City* (New York: Macmillan, 1965), p. 108.

⁶⁸Richard Shaull, "The Revolutionary Challenge to Church and Theology," *Princeton Seminary Bulletin*, LX:1 (October 1966), 30.

Polarization is increasing in many countries. History becomes an accuser as Christianity meditates upon the fact that it has often been a supporter of the exploiter and a subtle instrument of keeping others oppressed. The Church must find ways of moving from its "theologies of hope" to concrete programs of action in which it shows that God does make a difference in specific situations of power.⁶⁹ The Church must take the liberating power of the Word seriously, a Word that bears witness to the Liberator of all mankind. This does not mean that the Church does not need to stress the aspect of hope; the Church must "have a dream."⁷⁰ The Church must realize that real revolution can come only through the liberation of the spirit of man, which in turn stimulates him to action. In this process, the fundamental alliance of liberation and hope is basic. As Richard Wentz states, "revolutionary hope is awareness of the possibility of free and constructive response to actual change in relation to the movement of ultimate purpose."⁷¹ Latin America needs this revolutionary hope, and the Church must do its part to stir the fires of the hope in every bosom. The Church can stir the aspirations of the Latin dream so that these aspirations may be transformed into achievements.

Concretely, this may mean calling Christians to unity and

⁶⁹F. L. Herzog, "Theology of Liberation," *Continuum*, VII (Winter 1970), 517.

⁷⁰Richard E. Wentz, "Revolutionary Hope," *Encounter*, XXX (Winter 1969), 25.

⁷¹*Ibid.*, p. 27.

communion and common action. It may involve civic education so that Christians will be better prepared for participation in political parties. It will mean making prophetic critiques of the ills of society so that indications may be advanced for concrete action. It may involve leaving the pietistic comfort of the pew and pulpit in order that both clergy and laity may cooperate with non-Christians in the building of a just society. In certain situations the Church may need to be content working for reform and development rather than revolution and liberation because this process offers more possibilities. Certainly, the implications are that the Church should be *in* and *with* the world more than it has in the past.

Jose Miguez Bonino has stated that "full liberation, reconciliation with God through Jesus Christ by faith, does not occur in a vacuum but in the concrete conditions of human existence, as a judgment and an action that have to do with the totality of the alienation which man suffers."⁷² According to Miguez, to be reconciled to God is to be an enemy of all that attacks full and genuine human existence, and this judgment and this action have to do with a concrete historic situation and demand. In the midst of these concrete projects of liberation, both Christians and the Church affirm the total projection of liberation: "to give witness to their faith in God, to bind themselves together as defenders of the integrity of man, to point out the limitations of all historical projects."⁷³ But he reminds us that this

⁷² Herzog, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

⁷³ *Ibid.*

testimony is empty unless it starts from an action congruent with the full liberation that it proclaims.

In this process, the Church must be present as a Mediator or Reconciler.⁷⁴ According to Murray Wagner, the Gospel's double action of revolution and reconciliation must be present in the conflict in order that the forces that would free the captives do not become blind to the change from liberation to oppression. The Gospel must be present when Castro breaks Batista's oppressive yoke, in order that the methods used to overthrow the oppressor will not again become the instruments of oppression. Both political slavery and economic bondage must be avoided. "It is on the jagged edges of a revolutionary world that the decisions are made to humanize or dehumanize."⁷⁵

Gustavo Gutierrez presents a fitting concluding summary to the foregoing statements on a theology of liberation.⁷⁶ According to Gutierrez, "what ultimately brings Christians to participate in liberating oppressed peoples is the conviction that the gospel message is radically incompatible with an unjust, alienated society."⁷⁷ To be an authentic Christian means to act with great effort and imagination. In addition to this struggle against oppression, misery, injustice, and exploitation, the Church seeks the creation of a new man who is

⁷⁴Murray Wagner, "Toward a Theology of Revolution," *Brethren Life and Thought*, XI (Autumn 1966), 57.

⁷⁵*Ibid.*

⁷⁶Gutierrez, "Notes for a Theology of Liberation," pp. 243-61.

⁷⁷*Ibid.*, p. 254.

free to work for the emancipation of other men and himself.

There is one history and one Lord of history, and his redemptive work embraces every dimension of human existence. This one Lord calls every man to be all that he can be, to fulfill his potential. God's salvation embraces the whole man in relation with other men and in relation with himself. Christ comes as the Redeemer who liberates man from sin, from the very root of social injustice. Gutierrez states:

The entire dynamism of human history, the struggle against all that depersonalizes man, social inequalities, misery, exploitation, have their origin, are sublimated, and reach their plenitude in the salvific work of Christ.⁷⁸

The Church finds that it has an important role to play in the establishment of a new order through its liberating mission in a world involved in a continuing social revolution. Gutierrez closes by adapting Pascal's words:

. . . all the political theology of hope, of liberation, of revolution, is not worth as much as one act of faith, hope, and charity leading to an active effort to liberate man from all that dehumanizes him and keeps him from living according to the Lord's will.⁷⁹

⁷⁸*Ibid.*, p. 257.

⁷⁹*Ibid.*, p. 261.

CHAPTER III

THE NEEDS OF CHILEAN SOCIETY AND THE CHILEAN PROTESTANT CHURCH

The needs of Chilean society are related to the needs of the Chilean Protestant Church and vice versa. There is ample evidence of oppression, domination, and de-humanization in both; therefore, there is the urgent need for the liberation and the transformation of structures which are at least a partial cause of the oppression. In order that the reader may understand the context in which this model for liberating education is being offered, a brief introduction to Chile and to the economic, political and social conditions of the country is necessary. Several obstacles to change will be discussed. This introductory presentation of some of the needs of the country of Chile will be followed by a brief discussion of the Protestant Church of Chile.

AN INTRODUCTION TO CHILE

South America has the same Christian laws and usages as we have; she contains all the germs of civilization that have grown amid the nations of Europe or their offshoots . . . Why, then, should she always remain uncivilized? It is clear that the question is simply one of time; at some future period, which may be more or less remote, the inhabitants of South America will form flourishing and enlightened nations. (Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, 1835.)

At this moment the countries and citizens of South America, like other members of the Third World community, are searching for a fuller life, for independence, for dignity, for the solution of ancient social

problems. According to Georgie Anne Geyer, there are more interesting experiments in the development of underdeveloped countries being waged in Latin America than anywhere in the Third World.¹ This includes Marxist Cuba and Chile, New Military Peru, and a dozen other revolutionary combinations, all of which operate in a continent which boasts the largest amount of American investment in the world.

Each of these countries presents exciting possibilities for experimentation and learning. Chile is no exception. In Chile, as in other countries of Latin America, people are asking, "What kind of society is Chile going to be?" What policies should Chile formulate toward other Latin countries and toward the United States, and vice versa? What is present U. S. policy toward Latin America in general and Chile in particular? How can we really know and understand the Latin American and share, feel, and perhaps even suffer with him in his eternal fight against oppression? Not only do the majority of non-Latins not know the Latin, but few really care who he is or what his dreams are.

Some might argue that the Latin has very little that is his own. His culture is largely European and his political structures North American. Latin America has been a political and social vacuum for worn-out, tossed-off ideologies and "Nazis, Communists, confidence men, swindlers and politicians out of power," as Geyer expresses the

¹Georgie Anne Geyer, *The New Latins, Fateful Change in South and Central America* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1970), p. ix.

dilemma.² Geyer states:

Colonies of Germans, Poles, Japanese and East Indians immigrated there, but they were not assimilated as they had been in North America. They remained intact and spoke their own languages. They neither formed a new culture nor contributed to the existing one, for there was no 'Latin Americanism' to mold them into something new.³

But there was something that kept attracting these "foreigners." Perhaps it was the vastness of the forests, jungles and deserts. Or the mountains, or the thousands of miles of coast. Or the minerals. Or perhaps the people, many of whom were happy but not excessively aggressive or ambitious for themselves or their countries. They are not lazy, but they do view work, progress, efficiency, and activity in a different light than many North Americans and Europeans.

Even today Latins realize that they have depended excessively upon foreigners and have therefore been dominated psychologically, politically, and economically by them. There is emerging a new Latin and a new Latin America as a spirit of nationalism is beginning to exert its influence. Voices are being heard, and dreams are being realized. Nations are being formed and leaders are emerging to lead them. A new community, a people, is being formed. Latins are enjoying a new sense of identity and unity. It is becoming clear why John F. Kennedy saw Latin America as the single most important area of the world for the United States.

If for no other reason, Latin America is important because two hundred million persons live there. That, of course, is about the

²*Ibid.*, p. xii.

³*Ibid.*

population of the United States. However, this writer's purpose in this introductory paper relates to only 5% of the population, or the 10,000,000 people living in Chile. The following is a brief examination of the economic, political and social conditions in this small country which has recently become a topic for conversation because of its many experiments.

The Geography of Chile

The Republic of Chile lies along the southern half of the west coast of South America, a narrow strip of land 2,620 miles long between the Andes and the South Pacific. The average land width is only 100 miles, but the coast of Chile, including bays and fiords, extends for 6,000 miles. Chile is a "thin land" or a "shoestring republic," as it has been nicknamed, because it is only 221 miles wide at its greatest point. However, in length, Chile is longer than the distance between New York and San Francisco.

Chile possesses, as the other Andean states do not, clear natural frontiers. The Andes form her eastern border; the desert, the northern boundary, and Cape Horn, the southern extremity. In the south the Chilean Andes consist of a single main range, but in the central part of the country, they divide into two ranges, the Pacific side and the Cordillera. The Pacific side rises to a maximum elevation of 8,800 feet, but the Cordillera rises to 22,834 feet above sea-level in the western hemisphere's highest peak, Aconcagua. Between these two ranges lies the 500-mile long Central Valley of Chile. The main chain

of the Andes diminishes in height towards the south. Snowfields and icecaps become more frequent on the peaks. Glacial lakes line the Patagonian foothills.

River development is restricted by the abrupt rise of the Andes in the east. The southern rivers carry more water, but the whole country has only 200 miles of navigable waterway.

The name "Chile" is said to derive from a Peruvian word meaning "snow," a commodity which is abundant in the Andes in the winter. However, it is impossible to generalize about Chile's geography or climactic conditions.

Geographically, Chile is divided into four regions: Patagonia and Tierra del Fuego, southern Chile, the fertile central valley, and the northern desert. The background for all four of these regions is the snowy Andes mentioned above.⁴

Most of Chile lies in the temperate zone, but the Atacama Desert in the north is one of the world's driest regions, with little or no rainfall. Chile itself is slightly larger than Texas, but it also claims sovereignty over 500,000 square miles of the Antarctic Continent. Tierra del Fuego is the largest (18,800 square miles) island in the archipelago of the same name at the southern tip of South America. It is a land of high mountains, deep channels and high winds. It was discovered in 1520 by Magellan, who sailed through the strait

⁴Gilbert J. Butland, *Chile* (London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1966), p. 11, calls these regions Desert Chile, Mediterranean Chile, Forest Chile, and Antarctic Chile.

(named after him) which separates the main island from the mainland. He named the island "Land of Fire" because of its many Indian bonfires. Two-thirds of the island are in Chile, the eastern third in Argentina. Punta Arenas, on a mainland peninsula in Chile, is a center of sheep-raising and the world's southernmost city (population over 45,000). Puerto Williams, population 350, at a Chilean naval base on Navarino Island, is the southernmost settlement.

Precipitation is heavy in this region, at least 100 inches per year, and includes considerable amounts of snow. The forests are almost impenetrable because of the bamboo-like grasses and giant ferns. Areas of this region are virtually uninhabited. In fact, from Chiloe to Tierra del Fuego lies a rocky wasteland, representing 28% of the terrain but only 1-1/2% of Chile's population. Tierra del Fuego has 7% of Chile's terrain and 1% of its population.⁵ This area was inhabited by primitive tribes, but colonization at the end of the last century introduced new diseases and very few survivors. The area is now famous for its sheep farms, usually run by hardy European settlers, many of them from Scotland.

Southern Chile is a region of farms and forests which begins at the Bio Bio River and extends to Chiloe. This region represents 12% of the terrain and has 26% of the population. While the central region

⁵G. F. Scott Elliott, *Chile* (London: Unsin, 1911), p. 6, states that at the southernmost point of Chile there prevails "an almost eternal succession of furious westerly gales, which appear to chase one another in an unending procession round and round the Southern Pole."

often lacks rainfall, Southern Chile receives more than adequate rainfall. Valdivia (40 degrees S.) receives an average rainfall of 120 inches per year with a mean annual temperature of 53 degrees. The season of maximum precipitation remains the winter, but the other seasons are wetter than in the central area. A short distance northeast of Valdivia, there begins a line of glacial lakes along the foot of the Andes as they run south. These correspond to the Patagonian lakes on the other side of the chain. The largest of these lakes is Llanquihue, with a surface area of 285 square miles. Behind it, the volcano Osorno (8,700 feet) raises its snow-capped peak. For many visitors, south Chile with its mountains, lakes and glaciers, is reminiscent of Switzerland.

The central valley of Chile runs from Coquimbo in the north to the Bio Bio in the South. This region represents 18% of Chile's terrain, but has 65% of its population, and includes the big cities of Santiago, Valparaiso and Concepcion. Between the coastal range and the Andes there are wide plains at an altitude of about 2,000 feet, which although they receive only light rainfall, can be well irrigated by the rivers coming down from the mountains. This is Chile's farming region because it contains the most fertile sections of the Central Valley, and is sometimes described as Chile's granary and fruit store. The fertile volcanic soils combined with an appropriate climate and irrigation water (mainly by sprinkler) permit the cultivation of subtropical fruits. Much of the land is being cultivated, but ruthless clearing for wheat cultivation left thousands of acres exposed and

erosion resulted.

The large landholdings, the *haciendas*, are supplemented by smaller properties which were cultivated more intensely and productivity was higher per acre. In the last two years these larger holdings have been taken over by the State in the hope of increasing production so that Chile will be able to maintain domestic self-sufficiency in food supply.

The climate has Mediterranean characteristics of winter rain and summer drought. The landscape of this central region, with its woods and green fields, is a most attractive one. All of the grains, fruits, and vegetables that are common to temperate North America are grown in Chile, especially in this region. There are many large dairy farms. Wheat, rice, barley, oats, beans, lentils, apples, melons, peaches, plums, nectarines, peas and potatoes are grown in abundance.

Since 1965, under an agrarian reform program, more than 2,000,000 acres of farmland have been expropriated, with due compensation to the owners.

The arid deserts of Northern Chile extend north from the valley of the River Aconcagua. To the north lies the rainless Atacama desert, without any irrigated valleys of importance, but with very significant deposits of nitrates and of copper ore. This region of Chile represents 33% of its terrain, but contains only 6.5% of its population, which is concentrated in the main cities of Arica, Iquique, Antofagasta, and the mines of Chuquibambilla.

While there is little rainfall, Northern Chile is subject to

dense cloud and sea fog which is the result of the presence of the cold Peru current. However, the clouds seldom produce rain and thus it is that Northern Chile forms one of the world's most pronounced desert areas. Even in the driest areas, there are occasional downpours, but these may occur at intervals of several years. The desert is totally bare of vegetation in many areas.

The north is usually sub-divided, on economic grounds, into two parts, the Greater North and the Lesser North. The Greater North is the driest and broadest part of Chile, and includes the desert sinks from which nitrates, salt and borax are produced. The Lesser North includes the highly mineralized region between Copiapo and the Rio Aconcagua, where rainfall is more abundant, but still unreliable. In this region oasis agriculture is possible in the river valleys.

Chilean Industry

The geographical description of Chile mentioned above contains references to the most common industries found in Chile. The following will attempt to discuss several of the more prominent of these industries, beginning with the industry in North Chile.

Northern Chile was long known as the World's Chemistry Laboratory.⁶ The most important resource has been the Atacama nitrates,

⁶The fact that the North constitutes one of the main sources of national revenue but receives little and disproportionate attention from the central government accounts for the development of strong regionalistic feelings. See "El Norte Grande pide la palabra," *Panorama economico*, XI:175 (September 13, 1957), 546-571.

which lie between 3,000 and 6,000 feet in an upland valley which is some 500 miles long. The region is almost entirely bare of vegetation, and what little cultivation there is depends on irrigation water.

Mining industries account for more than 70% of Chile's exports. Nitrate production is about 100,000 metric tons a month. About 47% of the world's supply of iodine is a by-product of Chilean nitrate works. Chile produces about 12% of the world copper output. The provinces of Atacama and Coquimbo have enormous iron deposits estimated at a billion tons. Coal reserves are estimated at 2 billion tons. Other minerals are gold, silver, molybdenum, cobalt, zinc, manganese, borate, mica, mercury, iodine, salt, sulphur, marble, and onyx.

Chile has the world's largest salt beds. Even the most soluble compounds are found in a bone-dry condition. Organic matter does not decay, but such objects as the bodies of dead animals suffer dehydration and turn into stone-hard mummies. The surface of the desert retains marks for years. The wheel marks of a vehicle, for example, may remain clearly visible for a decade or more because there is little loose sand to cover such marks because the sand is held by the salt pan in a hard crust.

Chile lived principally from saltpetre until the First World War. Two-thirds of its export consisted of saltpetre. However, German science broke the Chilean monopoly by producing saltpetre out of the air.

Fortunately, there was an alternative. Up until the First World War, only the rich copper lodes had been worked (those which

contained more than 5% copper). But when engineers of the North American firm of Guggenheim invented a new process for extracting copper from the ore, it became economical to work inferior ores profitably, even if they contained less than 3% or even 1%. This process made possible the opening of the Chuquicamata mine northeast of Antofagasta, at an altitude of 9,000 feet. Huge dredging machines turned the ground and carried the ore to gigantic sulphuric acid baths where the ore was washed. Because the entire region contains copper, there is no danger that the supply will be exhausted. Chuquicamata became the world's largest copper mine, and, along with "El Teniente" (where the writer held church services for two years), made Chile the most important copper exporting country in the world, surpassed in production only by the United States.

Chile had hoped to develop its coal industry. Chile was the first Latin American country to mine coal, which exists in abundance beneath the surface of the sea. However, the quality of the coal ore is poor and is not suitable for cooking. Another possibility was the development of the iron industry. While the first blast furnaces near Valdivia worked for many years at a financial loss, the steel works at Huachipato profitably produces about 800,000 tons of steel a year. There is a wealth of iron ore in Chile, mostly in the province of Coquimbo. A third possibility is oil. Oil has been discovered on Tierra del Fuego, but there has been little exploration in other regions of the country. Chile does not have the capital to develop its oil industry, and it does not want to rely upon foreign aid for

continued exploration.

As has been mentioned, agriculture is an important industry. Also, manufacturing industries have developed rapidly. With the creation of the Corporacion de Fomento de la Produccion (Chilean Development Corporation), agricultural and factory production has vastly increased. Huachipato steel plant near Concepcion is second in production only to Brazil's Volta Redonda plant in Latin America.

Besides minerals, Chile's exports are mainly fishmeal, barley, oats, wine, lentils, fruits, fish, sea-food, cellulose, newsprint, and wood.

Power stations have been built to facilitate industry. While a majority of the dams are located on the rivers in the south, electrical lines connect the extreme north with southern Chile and supply cheap electrical power to the entire country.

The textile industry is important to the Chilean economy, accounting for about one-third of the total industrial output. Articles of consumption outweigh the production of investment goods, both in the number of employed workers and in the value of the products. Therefore, industry is principally oriented towards the trading market. For this reason, Chilean industry is located in the cities, especially in Santiago. About 50% of the industrial workers live in the capital or in the nearby towns.

Agricultural production has not kept pace with the increase in population, resulting in the importation of large quantities of food products. The influx into the cities creates manpower shortages in

the agricultural zones, as has the process of agrarian reform. Chile has been importing beef for decades because of the lack of pasture land. In central Chile there are no large pastures. The long, narrow valleys must be artificially watered, and not enough rain falls on the slopes of the mountains to grow fodder.

Another important resource is lumber. South Chile has large virgin forests which can be exploited, but there is a lack of capital for the development of this industry. Markets exist in other neighboring countries such as Argentina and as far away as Japan.

In the late 1960's the government initiated a program of social and economic reforms. An important part of the program was the "Chileanization" of certain industries, particularly copper mining. Under this program, the Chilean government acquired 51% ownership of a large mine owned by one American copper company in 1967 and of two mines of another American copper company in 1969, with partial compensation to the owners.

In 1970, Dr. Salvador Allende Gossens, a marxist, was elected President and in July 1967, a constitutional amendment provided for full nationalization of copper mines owned by three U. S. companies, with compensation to be negotiated. A policy of nationalizing large industries and banks was also announced. More on this development will be discussed later in the paper.

Chilean History and Government

Diego de Almagro entered Chile for Pizarro in 1536, and Val-

divia completed Spanish conquest in 1540. Sir Francis Drake also "raided" the coast of Chile.

Independence was gained in 1810-18 under Jose de San Martin and Bernardo O'Higgins. O'Higgins became Supreme Director from 1817 to 1823 and sought social and economic reforms until deposed. In a war with Bolivia and Peru (1879-1884) Chile expanded its territory by one-third. Expansion of settlement took place as European colonists settled the southern region of Chile and as an agreement was reached with the unconquered Araucanian Indians.

The conquistador Pedro de Valdivia founded Santiago in 1541, but Chile remained a frontier outpost subject to the viceroy in Lima for most of the colonial period. A few families dominated the land. In 1833, a conservative constitution was established under which Chile was governed until 1924. During the peaceful conservative rule, steady economic development took place as well as important educational advances. The University of Chile was founded in 1842. Freedom of the press, public cemeteries, and civil marriage were approved in 1872. European immigrants and others stimulated liberal reform and industrialization.

The "Nitrate War" mentioned above stimulated Chile's national spirit. The spoils of war in the form of nitrate territory in the north led to economic expansion, but Bolivia was left without a port.

Until the beginning of the present century, most of the occupied land, particularly in the Central Valley between Santiago and the Bio Bio, was held in large estates. O'Higgins had tried to break up

these land estates and restrict the privileges of the nobility, but he failed. The land situation remained unchanged until after the reign of Balmaceda. Balmaceda was inducted as president in 1886, and started to develop a social program, but a congressional majority prevented him from accomplishing his goals. A civil war resulted in which the congressional forces were victorious, and Balmaceda shot himself in 1891. After Balmaceda, a new period of parliamentary rule began as conservatives and liberals developed the respective wings of their parties. The growth of the mining industry in the north and the development of manufacturing around Santiago led to the growth of an industrial proletariat. Conservatives and liberals united in order to hinder the representatives of the underprivileged masses from entering parliament. Congress became the devoted instrument of the ruling classes and the growing needs in the social and economic life of the nation were ignored. The national and local political machinery was manipulated for the benefit of the upper class.⁷ Political parties became splintered and there was widespread corruption.

Chilean industry continued to prosper, especially during the First World War because of high copper and nitrate prices, but the cost of living rose and wages lagged. Unrest was created, strikes broke out, and there was some street rioting. In 1912, the Socialist Labor Party was organized and in 1920 the Communist Party. In 1915, the

⁷I. J. Cox, "Chile," in A. Curtis Wilgus, (ed.) *Argentina, Brazil, and Chile Since Independence* (Washington: George Washington University Press, 1935), p. 360.

conservatives forced the election of Juan Luis Sanfuentes, who believed that "social change was not only bad for business but an insult to Almighty God." The ruling conservatives ignored the misery of the agricultural worker and the miner who sweated all day in the hot desert or in mine shafts for as little as twenty cents a day. More than 90% of the people of Chile lived in poverty, and more than 50% could not read or write.

In 1920, Arturo Alessandri was elected president on a platform of social reform, but his programs were blocked by Congress. He was able to establish a moderate income tax and a labor code, but falling copper and nitrate prices added to his difficulties. However, Alessandri became the hero of the forces seeking change because he had promised separation of Church and State, voting privileges for women, personal and corporate income taxes, social and welfare legislation, government control of the nitrate industry, more provincial autonomy, and more popular influence in political affairs. Although he was blocked by conservative senators, he exposed the condition of the masses and no president since has been able to ignore completely their plight. During the economic crisis of 1924, Alessandri was expelled by the army and he went in exile to Mussolini's Italy. A period of confusion followed.

Army leaders who were socially minded brought Alessandri back in 1925, and a new Constitution was drawn up that year. It was a thoroughly Chilean document which provided for the separation of Church and State and restored presidential powers lost in the Civil War of

1891. It made the presidential term six years and forbade consecutive re-election. However, Alessandri was ejected again and an army officer, Carlos Ibanez, ruled as dictator from 1925 until 1931, when he was forced to resign. He was able and honest, but anti-democratic. He ran the country with money borrowed from the United States, but in 1931, the "bubble burst" and Ibanez fled, leaving the country in chaos.

Arturo Alessandri was elected in 1932, but this time he returned as a conservative president who sided increasingly with the conservatives, although he did rescue the economy. By the end of his term in 1938, the nation was tired of his conservatism and ready for change.⁸

In 1938, the Popular Front elected as President Pedro Aguirre Cerda, a wealthy radical whose program of economic nationalism and extensive social legislation made Chile something of a welfare state. State intervention into economic affairs was intensified, a steel mill was built at Huachipato near Concepcion which now exports steel to Argentina and the United States, hydroelectric power plants were constructed, and an extensive industrialization program was established. Factories multiplied and social legislation was passed, but the Radical Party neglected agriculture. While the conservative land owners could not stop the technological and industrial changes, they kept almost intact their own economic and social order and did little to relieve the miserable condition of their workers.

⁸See Ricardo Donoso, *Alessandri: agitador y demoleedor* (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Economica, 1952-54).

Jorge Alessandri won very narrowly in 1958 over the Socialist Party candidate. His six-year term did little to change the basic economic and social situation. But the triumph of Eduardo Frei Montalva in 1964 and Salvador Allende in 1970 have brought earth-shaking changes to Chile.

The People of Chile

The population of Chile is about 10 million, half of whom are under twenty-one years of age. Since the majority of the Chileans are descended from the Spanish, the population is one of the most homogeneous in South America. About 68% of the population is mestizo, 30% European, and 2% Indian. Whereas the Spaniards in Peru found a non-resistant Indian population, and therefore rapidly intermarried, the conquerors who came to Chile found a fierce fighting Indian group, the Araucanians, who were not finally subdued until 80 years after independence was won from Spain.⁹ In fact, these Indians were never conquered, only subdued.

One of the reasons that the early Chileans were rather independent was their lack of contact with the outside world. Communication by land was extremely difficult because of the desert to the north, the Andes to the east, and the Antarctic to the south. The only means of contact with her neighbors until the present century was by ship.

⁹See Luis Galdames, *A History of Chile* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1941), p. 6.

And by ship they came: Germans, English, Italians, and Orientals--blondes and redheads as well as the brown and black-haired Spanish. But there are almost no Negroes in Chile because slavery was abolished in 1823. There are, however, scatterings of French, Yugoslavians, Arabs, and Jews along with the above-mentioned groups.

Chile has a high degree of urbanization (about 70%), one-third of which is found in the province which includes the capital. The density of population in the north, however, is very low (some seven persons for every two square miles). In the Austral Zone it is even lower, averaging no more than one for every two square miles. But in the central provinces of Santiago and Valparaiso, there are as many as 260 people to the square mile. The population growth rate was 2.3% in 1964.¹⁰

The Chilean Educational System

Education is free and compulsory between seven and fifteen years of age, but it is estimated that only 30% of those who start first grade complete the six years of primary school. The Chilean educational system provides for free schooling from first grade to the twelfth, even in the case of many private schools. In the universities, only a nominal fee is paid at the beginning of each year for tuition.

In spite of these efforts and the law, Chile has almost 20%

¹⁰Edwin A. Roberts, Jr., *Latin America* (Silver Spring, MD: National Observer, 1964).

non-readers.¹¹ Of those who do finish the sixth grade, only a small minority finish their high school education, and a much smaller number can get into one of the country's ten universities.¹² But even though these figures may sound pessimistic, Chile has one of the highest literacy rates in all Latin America, and its outstanding universities attract students from all over the hemisphere.¹³ This does not alter the fact that of every 100 students entering elementary school in 1957, 22 failed to enter the second year. Only 1.6% of the Chilean population have a university education and 2.4% have some other type of specialized training, showing the error of having an elementary school system which is dedicated to preparing the student for high school which, in turn, prepares him for a college he will not enter.¹⁴

The following paper is an attempt to present a brief survey of the economic, political and social conditions existent in Chile from 1964 until the present. The most exciting experiments in Chilean history are those of the present and the future. These adventures may

¹¹The literacy rate in Chile is about 80%.

¹²See K. H. Silvert, "The Chilean Population and Housing Census," *American Universities Field Staff Letter* (October 20, 1956), p. 10. See also Eduardo Hamuy, *Educacion elemental, analfabetismo y desarrollo economico* (Santiago: Editorial Universitaria, 1960).

¹³Julio Vega, "La clase media en Chile," *Materiales para el estudio de la clase media*, CXIII (Washington: Union Panamericana, 1950), 79.

¹⁴J. Ahumada, *En vez de la miseria* (Santiago: Editorial del Pacifico, 1958), pp. 27-28. See Inter-American Development Bank, *Social Progress Trust Fund, Third Annual Report, 1963* (Washington: Inter-American Development Bank, 1964), p. 187.

point the way for other Latin American countries socially, economically, and politically and are worthy of consideration.

ECONOMIC, POLITICAL AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS IN CHILE FROM 1960 TO 1972

An obvious relationship exists between economic, political, social and religious conditions in any given country. Chile is no exception. The following is an attempt to describe in brief and obviously superficial terms the first three conditions.

Economic Conditions in Chile

Chile's economic structure has undergone some violent changes in the past 150 years. At the beginning of the 18th century the Spanish economic monopoly began to hinder the colony's development. Soon French ships traded peacefully but illegally along the Chilean coast. This forced King Charles III of Spain to decree the freedom of navigation between Chile and Spain, which in turn stimulated the formation of a new class among the residents of Chile. On September 18, 1810, an independent government was formed, but battles in 1812 resulted in the defeat of the Chilean rebels. O'Higgins and other patriots fled across the Andes to Mendoza and, with the help of General Jose de San Martin, one of the fathers of the Argentinian Independence, the rebels trained and organized an army to remove the Spaniards. On February 12, 1817, San Martin and O'Higgins led forces which defeated the royalists at Chacabuco. The final loss by the Spaniards was on

April 5, 1918.

The first real economic crisis of a violent nature occurred during the "Fertilizer War" as Chilean companies which exploited nitrate clashed with the Bolivian government which claimed the territory and thus the right to put taxes on the Chilean firms. Peru sided with Bolivia against Chile, causing Chile to declare war on both countries in 1879. After four years of struggle, Chile emerged the victor, thus acquiring vast nitrate deposits.

A second crisis occurred in 1891 when a civil war broke out between factions supporting President Balmaceda and those which supported Congress. As a result of this civil war, Chile adopted the parliamentary system of government. During these years the advance of scientific knowledge made possible the laboratory production of synthetic nitrates and thereby basically altered the demand for these fertilizers in Europe and North America. Nitrate had paid most of the expenses of the country, permitting the country to operate without an income tax. But since artificial nitrate was cheaper than real nitrate, little natural nitrate was sold abroad during this period.

One of the difficulties in agricultural production has been the low income of farm workers. In 1965 there were over 600 farms of more than 5,000 hectares (roughly 12,300 acres). The average size of these farms was 54,000 acres, while there were almost 90,000 farms with less than five hectares (12.3 acres), the average size being only 3.9 acres.¹⁵ In addition to these contrasts in land holdings, there

¹⁵According to K. H. Silvert, "The State of Chilean Agricul-

were large numbers of landless laborers. Some 34% of the population was engaged in farming but received only 18% of the national income.¹⁶

According to George M. Korb, "Chile has no privileged class, but some Chileans are less privileged than others."¹⁷ Since his article describes conditions about the year 1960, the year with which our brief analysis begins, we shall summarize his thinking in the following paragraphs.

Three classes may be distinguished in Chile: *patron* (owner or boss), *empleado* (employee), and *obrero* (worker). The workers would be involved in manual labor, as a rule, while the other two classes would not be. In 1961, the minimum wage of an *empleado* was about \$64 a month, while the *obrero* received about \$30. This would signify that a teenage girl would earn more than twice as much as an adult laboring man with a family to support.¹⁸

In addition, the social security benefits for manual laborers

ture," *American Universities Field Staff* (July 1, 1957), p. 9, not only the size of the farms but the inherited land tenure system has been oppressive. Landowners have failed to use their property to the best productive advantage. The *hacienda* system has developed a strong paternalistic relationship between peasants and owners and has become a major factor in the politics of the Chilean valley. A re-structuration of society is needed.

¹⁶See Jose Vera Lamperein, "Sindicalizacion campesina," *Panorama economico*, XI:177 (October 11, 1957), 651-654.

¹⁷George M. Korb, "Getting Ahead in Chile," *America*, CVII (August 25, 1962), 647-649. Mr. Korb, a member of the Association for International Development (AID), spent two years doing sociological research with the Institute of Rural Education and the Catholic University of Santiago.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, p. 647.

pays only about \$3 a month for each dependent, while the system for white-collar workers in private industry pays \$12.50 a month per dependent. This implies that a middle-class child deserves and needs, of the things money will buy, four times as much as a working-class child.¹⁹

Korb illustrates the results of this type of inequality in the type of education received by children of the less privileged. A recent survey of student drop-out in the Province of Santiago showed that only 14 per cent of the lower-income children reached the seventh grade, compared to 32% of the middle-income and 73% of the upper-income students. Since at least some secondary education is generally a requisite for white-collar employment, most of the children of the working class will be unable to advance occupationally by the time they reach their teens.

Another obstacle to upward mobility through education is the nature of the secondary school system, which emphasizes preparation for the university rather than for a vocation. Of the total primary and secondary school population, only 9% was engaged in technical and vocational courses in 1970.

Another obstacle may be clothes. While all Chilean high schools require a uniform, some girls' schools require students to wear white gloves, a symbol of clean hands. A worker's daughter could not withstand the ridicule she would encounter as she returns to her

¹⁹*Ibid.*

neighborhood wearing white gloves.

The private school system was established for the children of middle- and upper-class families. Many of these institutions are religious in nature. Scholarships are provided for children of larger families as long as they are members of the upper social strata. When the 1,300-girl elite Methodist girls' school in Santiago tried to enroll children of the maintenance staff in 1970, alumni and parents began a struggle that has lasted two years to keep the school "segregated" from the lower classes.

While education at the university level is free or nearly so, private universities charge a tuition of about \$35 a year.²⁰ This means that all taxpayers, even the poorest in proportion to his means, help to educate the elite. According to Korb, the University of Chile has about one per cent of the student population of the country but spends about ten per cent of the total public educational budget.²¹ In 1960, the children of workers constituted about 75% of the student population, but they accounted for less than two per cent of the enrollment at the University of Chile, the largest university in the country.²²

Taxation is another means of aiding the middle- and upper-classes. In 1960, those of the upper economic class paid less than

²⁰This figure is for 1960.

²¹*Ibid.*, p. 648.

²²The other relatively large university is the Catholic University.

15% of their income in taxes.

Possession of property is likewise a barrier for social and economic advancement. According to the census of agriculture taken in 1955, 9.7% of the agrarian property holders had 87% of the arable land, while 75% of the landowners held only 5.2% of the soil. Many of the latter are listed as landowners, but they were little more than tenant farmers because their small plots could not support them. The upper-class landlords operated their large farms until the 1960's by investing very little and by seeking the largest gain for the least amount of expenditure. They held on to their lands and avoided cash outlays. This means that profits were only a fraction of the potential.

It is important to note that the industries of Chile have been related rather closely to her agricultural production. They have consisted for the most part, of such industries as flour milling, food canning and wine production. In the economy in general and in foreign trade in particular, mining remained more important than industry.

However, by 1960, although nitrates and copper together still made up three-quarters of Chile's exports, the nitrate industry had greatly diminished in importance. The nitrate industry had become increasingly mechanized, although it still employed over 50,000 workers. By contrast, copper production has been increasing since 1960, both in volume and in value. In 1960, Chile was the world's second largest producer after the U.S., excluding the Soviet sphere. According to some estimates, Chile possesses one-third of the world's copper reserves. Chile produced 70% of the world's iodine in 1960. Coal

production has risen steadily since 1939 to a 1960 figure of 1.42 million tons, but the quality is not good enough for cooking. Chile produced 75% of its requirements in oil in 1960, and some 682,000 metric tons of iron and steel were produced by the Huachipato plant near Concepcion.

As an example of the 1960 situation, let us view the copper situation. Two United States companies (Anaconda and Kennecott-owned Braden) accounted for three-fifths of Chile's foreign exchange earnings and claimed to pay fifteen per cent of all taxes collected.²³ Their workers received the highest wages in Chile, and might continue to do so since there were enough known Chilean copper reserves to last for sixty years. With this prospect in sight, the two countries drew up a three hundred million dollar expansion program that included new facilities and the transfer of thousands of workers from the mountain areas or from antiquated company towns in desert areas to more healthful, fertile valleys. But members of Congress, led by the powerful Socialist-Communist bloc, called the companies "agents of Yankee imperialism" and joined with conservatives in blocking the expansions. There was a call for greater control over the companies or nationalization to prevent the loss of increased revenue. The Christian Democrats called for the "Chileanization" of the mines, and the establishment of an agency to control all sales of copper produced.

²³"Chilean-American Copper: Defeat of the Anaconda-Braden Plans," *Commonwealth*, LXXVII (December 7, 1962), 268.

Eduardo Frei's "Revolution in Liberty"

The economic crisis caused by the rebellious attitude of certain members of Congress was resolved by an election on September 4, 1964. The choice was between Dr. Salvador Allende and Christian Democrat Eduardo Frei. Both promised revolution for the economically and socially troubled country. Dr. Allende was supported by the Popular Action Front. Senator Frei's slogan was "revolution in liberty." It was a choice between left and center in one of the most democratic and cultured countries in Latin America. Of the 2,500,000 voters, 56% chose Eduardo Frei. This was the highest percentage of the vote ever given a presidential candidate in the country's history. It represented the first triumph in Latin America of the Christian Democrat philosophy.

Frei promised change. He realized that the masses didn't want to keep living under present modes. They wanted change, but not by sacrificing liberty. The need for change was obvious: change for the peasants, the shantytown dwellers, the mothers, the children, the workers. Peasants were working for two escudos (60 cents) a day in 1964. This meant eight hours a day in winter and twelve in summer, six days a week. The owners of the big farms had to acknowledge that agricultural production in 1963 was down by 11%, as it had been going down steadily for twenty years. This meant that the country which was \$2 billion in debt had to import \$100 million worth of food a year.

The social, economic, and political "frame" of Chile was worn out. It no longer corresponded to the reality inside the people.

Peasants were moving to the cities and forming giant *callampas* (mushrooms) there. Formerly quiet peasants suddenly wanted to be a part of society. Some of the people began to realize that political democracy existed in Chile but not economic and social democracy. Even the middle-class began to see that it had been absorbed by the interests of the upper-class. And the leaders of the Christian Democrat Party came from this middle-class. They were influenced by modern Catholic philosophers and Christian values. Through political methods they had captured the student federations and the teachers' associations. Factory cells were organized. Activity began inside the labor unions. Power was in their hands.

An editorial in *America* presented Allende as a dynamic (some say demagogic) spokesman who displayed much more personal magnetism and eloquence than Frei.²⁴ While the Christian Democrats had made impressive gains in student elections and had aroused a mystique among the lower classes that was the envy of the Communists, Frei's reform program was firmly based on Christian principles. The editorial raises the following question:

Will Chile be the first Latin American country to go Communist by the will of the majority expressed in democratic elections? If so, it will be because past governments have not heeded the protests of Chile's underpaid agricultural workers, its millions (yes, millions!) without decent housing and its white-collar class caught in one of Latin America's wildest inflations.²⁵

²⁴Editorial: "Chile Swings Left," *America*, CX (April 4, 1964), 473.

²⁵*Ibid.*

The article closed by stating that most of the other Latin American nations will probably be forced to make the same choice as Chile in the next decade, between a Marxist and a Christian revolution. History, of course, gave Frei the first opportunity and Allende the second.

Within two months of his election, Mr. Frei "Chileanized" the nation's copper industry.²⁶ An agreement has been signed which would revolutionize the world copper trade. The pacts signed with Kennecott Copper Corporation, the Anaconda Company and Cerro Corporation would almost double production by 1970, and more than triple refining capacity. To accomplish this expansion, Kennecott agreed to invest \$200 million over the next five years; Anaconda, \$135 million; and Cerro, \$82 million. The Chilean government's contribution was \$125 million, mostly in the form of services.²⁷ The Chilean government acquired 51% interest in Braden Copper, a Kennecott subsidiary, a 25% share in a new company to be set up in partnership with Cerro, and a 25% interest in Anaconda's new Exotica mine. Through this process Frei chose partnership to expropriation and thus maintained good relations with the U.S. companies.

Frei was a strong and intelligent political figure, determined to achieve economic and social justice. His views have been presented in the several books he has written. On a visit to Europe in July 1965, he spoke against U. S. unilateral military intervention in the

²⁶ Editorial: "Chile and Its Copper; President Frei's Agreement with U. S. Companies," *America*, CXII (January 9, 1965), 38-39.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

Dominican Republic. He stated firmly that the Organization of American States must be radically improved if it is to survive. On his return from Europe he found Chile's severe inflation continuing, and that only the Copper Agreement, of the many pieces of legislation the previous Congress had blocked, had been passed. Education was being strengthened at all levels, but the needed basic land reform had barely been started. One of the most serious problems, according to Frei, was "the institutionalized relationship between people."²⁸ Chilean society had been essentially patriarchal for some time: "the landowner had commanded, a landless people had obeyed."²⁹ Another problem was that "Chileans were highly civilized in regard to consuming, but primitive when it comes to producing."³⁰

There is no doubt that Chile was and is a country with energetic people, a tradition of free speech, and devotion to education and democratic processes. But it was and is a country with a strong established elite, people who probably voted against Allende in 1964 because they remembered that he almost won in 1958. The issue was between those who wanted to maintain the status quo and those who insisted on

²⁸Eduardo Frei, *La verdad tiene su hora* (Santiago: Editorial del Pacifico, 1955), pp. 129-165.

²⁹Peter Dorner and Juan Carlos Collarte, "Land Reform in Chile: Proposal for an Institutional Innovation," *Inter-American Economic Affairs*, XIX:1 (1965), 3-22. See also George M. McBride, *Chile, Land and Society* (New York: American Geographical Society, 1936), pp. 12-14.

³⁰Enrique Molina, philosopher and educator, quoted in Frederick Pike, *Chile and the United States* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1963), p. 289.

change. Before the election, Joseph Fichter stated:

If the reform government stands firm and moves rapidly enough toward its primary objectives not only will communism be checked in Chile, but throughout the continent all those who believe in the possibility of social change without violent revolution will be encouraged, and it will be proven that communists have no monopoly on the idea and practice of economic improvement for the people.³¹

Frei's "first hundred days" were quite frustrating. The lame-duck Chilean congress refused to pass any of the legislation Frei requested. However, the March 7 congressional elections brought a landslide for Frei. The Christian Democratic Party raised its number of senators from four to thirteen, and its number of deputies in the lower house from 28 to 82, a clear majority. The *Mercurio* editorialized:

For the first time in our political history, the Executive is identified with the majority in Parliament. . . . Both powers respond basically to the same concepts and have, as a result, the responsibility to give rapid and efficient government to the nation.

The Liberal and Conservative parties declined by about half, to seven and five per cent, respectively. The Radicals declined from 21 per cent to 13. The Popular Action Front maintained their hold with about 25% of the nation's voters: the Communists, with 12 per cent, and the Socialists, with 10 per cent.

Frei proposed a luxury tax on such items as autos and television sets. Diplomatic and trade relations were resumed with the Soviet

³¹ Joseph H. Fichter, *Cambio social en Chile: Un estudio de actitudes* (Santiago: Editorial Universidad Catolica, 1962), pp. 220-222.

Union, Poland, and other East European countries. Possible trade relations with Cuba were discussed. The U. S. extended large loans to Chile. Frei tried to bring inflation under control and to establish a stable currency. Attempts were made to improve the quantity and quality of public education at all levels. The public administration was reorganized. Agricultural reforms were initiated. Economic development was stimulated, thus ensuring higher employment. Government spending was increased for housing and slum clearance.

However, Frei was not without constant opposition. In January 1967, Frei was denied permission by the Chilean Senate to visit Washington. Again the Socialists and Communists were joined by the more conservative Radicals in the vote. The Right and Left were frustrating the moderate progressives. Thus the U. S. missed the opportunity of hearing the Chilean President express thanks for aid given to Chile, which amounts to more per-capita aid than to any other country south of the Rio Grande. Chile was the only Latin American country to receive a British loan in recent years, and Russian aid was increasing considerably. Under Frei Chile was spending five times as much on education as on its military, and it was the only Latin American country with a land reform law which fulfilled both Alliance for Progress and F.A.O. criteria as being serious.³²

Less than half-way through his six-year term, President Frei lost control of his party to a group of rebels who were critical of his

³² Donald D. Ranstead, "How Free is Frei?" *Commonweal*, LXXXV (February 17, 1967), 549-550.

policies as not sufficiently "revolutionary" in content.³³ The party election which gave control to the opposition slate took place on the same day that Frei put his signature to a strong agrarian reform law, one of the central points in his program. The same party meeting adopted a program for the remaining three years of Frei's term which was more hostile to private enterprise than any previous Christian Democratic program in Latin America or Europe.³⁴

The Christian Democratic Party was never an anti-communist party. It began as a faction of idealistic young intellectuals within the Conservative Party and grew from 3% of the popular vote in 1941 to 42% in 1965. However, it should be noted that some view Christian Democracy as a viable *alternative* to Marxism-Lenninism in Latin American politics, and perhaps as the *only* alternative with any serious possibility of success. The Christian Democrats have promised to develop an alternative to the evils of capitalist individualism and socialist collectivism. But the 1964 Christian Democratic platform, while calling for land reform and the expansion of the welfare programs, did not alter the essential nature of the Chilean mixed economy, in which the private sector has an important place.

One of the rebels mentioned above was Jacques Chonchol, presently a member of Allende's cabinet and leader in the MAPU party.

³³Paul E. Sigmund, "Chile's Christian Democrats," *America*, CXVII (November 18, 1967), 602-604.

³⁴The program was entitled "Proposals for Political Action in the Period 1967-1970 for a Non-Capitalist Way of Development."

Chonchol wrote a book describing what he called "communitarianism," a concept borrowed from French Catholic social thought, and used it to describe the radical changes in the economic structure that should result from the application of Christian social principles. It is Chonchol's viewpoint that "capitalist" property relationships and the private ownership of the means of production are opposed to Christian social teaching and should be replaced by ownership by communities of workers in factories, or peasants in rural areas.

In 1964, Frei appointed Chonchol head of INDAP, the agrarian technical assistance agency, an appointment which gave Chonchol an opportunity to put his views into practice. He had worked in Cuba with a U. N. technical assistance program from 1959-61 and had seen some of the errors made by Castro in that program. The program mentioned above which was adopted on July 16, 1967, was written largely by Chonchol and described the "non-capitalist way of development."

Frei responded to the "young turks" by reminding them that the inflation-ridden and fragile Chilean economy was too weak to support additional revolutionary programs at the present moment. But the rebels won the party offices in 1967 at the July meetings, much to Frei's dismay.

At the same time, Chonchol worked for the implementation of his agrarian reform program. This program redistributes expropriated farmland into cooperative settlements or *asentamientos* for an interim period of three to five years. The families elect their own officers and are supplied with fertilizer, machinery, and technical assistance

from the agrarian reform agency. At the end of this period, the members of the community can vote whether or not to divide the land or to continue as a cooperative.

During 1967, Chonchol was also appointed chairman of a committee in the Christian Democratic Party which was to set policy for the last three years of Frei's term. The final report was largely authored by him and stressed the misery of the masses, the stagnation of the economy, the lack of effective representation and their dependence on external powers. The report proposed the nationalization of the coal, steel, nitrate, petrochemical and telephone companies. It also recommended the creation of a State Commercial Agency, which would buy and market food, fertilizer, machinery and possibly manufactured goods. Loans to the private sector would be rigidly controlled by the Central Bank. Foreign investment would be permitted where it would bring new technology and markets, but profits and royalties were to be limited by law.

This approach was different than Frei's in that Chonchol and his fellow politicians proposed an expanded and much more expensive program of nationalization, a limitation of foreign investment at a time when Frei was trying to invite more foreign capital to come in, a reorganization of the banking system, and worker participation in management shortly after Frei had indicated that both measures would be postponed because of the financial strain they would create. Chonchol and his ideologues wanted to replace the capitalist system with communitarianism, a form of socialism similar to the current system used in Yugoslavia. Frei and his group were more interested in

working within the present economic system in order that economic stability and growth may be stimulated for the building of new houses and schools and to carry out a reform of agriculture.

While the ideological battle was being waged within the party, Frei was making progress in the economic and social fields. During 1965-66 the government built 80,000 desperately needed new houses, opened 4,000 new schools and cut inflation from 35 to 21 per cent.³⁵ During these two years the conservative Radicals united with the Socialists and Communists to block Frei's land reform bill and the "Chileanization" of the copper mines, but the coalition prepared the way for victories by the Leftist groups during the remaining three years of Frei's term and the really important victory of Allende in 1970.³⁶

Frei's accomplishments from 1964-1967 in education were admirable. Not only were the number of schools and teachers increased, but the simple innovation of offering two meals a day in the schools raised attendance and improved nutrition among poor children.³⁷ The decision to run the Santiago telephone book and the tax lists through a computer helped increase overall tax receipts by 25% and by nearly that in 1966. The minimum wage was raised in the rural areas, bringing

³⁵ Editorial: "Voting Trends in Chile," *America*, CXIV (March 19, 1966), 370.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ James Becket, "Chile's Mini-revolution," *Commonweal*, LXXXVII (December 29, 1967), 406-408.

the peasant into the money economy, increasing his consumption and thereby stimulating domestic consumer industries.³⁸ Inflation was reduced from 48% in 1964, to 18% in 1966 and 20% in 1967.

By the end of 1967, only 100 *asentamientos* were established rather than the 380-400 which had been projected. The estimate for 1970 was scaled down from 100,000 families to 40,000. One of the problems with the land reform program was that it was estimated to cost about one billion dollars, an amount which could not be raised under any circumstances. Peasant unions were organized and entered into fierce competition with Communist-sponsored unions.

Unfortunately, the Christian Democrats did not challenge the interests of the oligarchy or of foreign investors in their first three years. The middle-classes were taxed more than the rich, and even land reform was no real threat to the power structure, for real economic and political power was located in the financial and commercial strongholds of the city.

Nor did Frei really challenge the copper companies. In 1967, copper brought in 70% of the nation's export earnings and was 85% owned by the United States. While the government did gain 51% of Kennecott's El Teniente mine (which accounted for 30% of total output), it won only 25% of two relatively small new ventures of Anaconda and Cerro. Frei accepted Kennecott's proposal which allowed the company to retain management for eleven years without bringing in any fresh

³⁸*Ibid.*, p. 406.

capital because the projected \$230 million investment was to come mostly from international agencies and the Chilean government. The effective tax rate was lowered from 85% to 45%, which meant that the Chilean government was to receive less in taxes under the new system than the old until 1975.

The Christian Democrats had promised to make bank reforms and to nationalize the telephone company (a subsidiary of ITT) and the foreign electric company, both noted for poor service and high profits. But it was difficult to accomplish lofty goals such as these while cooperating with the United States in other ventures. Also, some of the leadership within the party was not the best qualified for the positions given them. Combined with this leadership deficiency, the Christian Democrats were appalled by the inefficiency of the State's gigantic, unwieldy bureaucracy, but were helpless to change it. The State accounted for 70% of investment in the country's mixed economy in 1967, employed thousands of people, fixed prices, and generally stood unchallenged. The price of copper began to drop toward the end of 1967 and inflation rose more rapidly than planned. Savings were so low that a system of forced savings was proposed. Unemployment was up and the foreign debt quietly grew.

Another important milestone in Frei's administration occurred in 1969. With nine military governments in Latin America, Chile's experiment in Christian democracy was proving to be an interesting exception. The election of March 2, 1969, to elect a new 150-member Chamber of Deputies and 30 of the 50-member Senate was the third

nationwide election in four years. In the March 2nd election the Christian Democrats (PDC) received only 30% of the vote compared with 42% in 1965, and 35.5% in 1967. The Right (National Party) went up from 14% in 1967, to 21%. The Communists ran third with 16.5%, while both the Socialists and Radicals declined.

The basic problems which faced Chile in 1969 were inflation, a stagnated economy, the need for constitutional reform, the overhauling of the archaic and almost bankrupt social security system, and a disastrous drought. Accomplishments were made in school enrollment, housing construction, the establishment of a favorable trade balance, the legalization of farm workers' unions, the Agrarian Reform, and increased copper production which had built up a hard-currency surplus.

Why did the Christian Democrats lose votes in the election? Perhaps because Chileans feel the pinch after summer spending, or because taxes are due on April 1st, or because inflation is always highest in January and February. The party had made too many political appointments as a result of earlier favors. Also, spending for the election was lavish. Some of the middle-class voted against the PDC's commitment to a "non-capitalist way" for Chile. Too many politicians were trying to please the voters without proposing sound programs. Congress voted itself another raise in salary with only the Communists in opposition. Much sentiment was expressed against high inflation with the Right wishing for the more "stable" years of ex-President Jorge Alessandri, forgetting that the price stability from 1960-62 was paid for in foreign loans of over \$1 billion.

A seemingly unimportant event occurred on March 9, 1969, when families led by a newly elected Socialist deputy attempted forcibly to seize some unoccupied private property to build homes on (a common occurrence in Chile in 1972). The usually calm carabineros lost their nerve and killed eight and seriously wounded 27. This action became the rallying point for Socialists, Communists and even sectors of the Christian Democratic Party.

In summary, Frei's government had expropriated 1,224 private estates during its six years and had distributed the land to 30,000 families. It increased income tax revenues 80% by catching wealthy tax dodgers, and built some 400,000 housing units. University enrollment increased 124% while infant mortality dropped from 102 to 79 per 1,000. However, Chile still suffered from a lack of industrialization and a heavy dependence on fluctuating world raw-materials prices. Inflation in 1969 rose to 28%. More than half of Chile's families subsisted on less than \$30 a month.

Economically and politically, Chile in 1969 was in a state of suspended animation, a situation which did not last long. The following year was to be the year of new surprises and the important presidential election.

Salvador Allende: Saviour of the Masses

Allende was runner-up with 38.9% of the vote in the 1964 presidential race and had run twice before that. A Chilean Senator who led the Socialist Party, Allende was elected to head the first

government dominated by communists and socialists ever to be freely elected in Latin America.

He ran against Radomiro Tomic, the former ambassador to the U.S., who was the candidate of Frei's Christian Democratic Party, and former President Jorge Alessandri, 74, who was backed by the country's business interests but retained a carefully preserved common touch. He is the son of Arturo Alessandri, former President of Chile. Because Allende received only 36.3% of the votes, the Chilean Congress was called upon to select the candidate who would become president, and it chose Allende, who was inaugurated on November 4, 1970.

Allende had promised to nationalize mining, banking and foreign trade, and see to it that every Chilean baby had a pint of milk a day, and he did. His basic philosophy might be summarized in a comment made to the *New York Times*:

For you to be a Communist or a Socialist is to be totalitarian. For me, no. I believe man is freed when he has an economic position that guarantees him work, food, housing, health, rest, and recreation. I am a founder of the Socialist Party, and I must tell you that I am not totalitarian, and I think Socialism frees man.

His desire to free the common man led Allende to nationalize the copper companies, including the \$200 million investment of Anaconda Company, the company which Frei had not been able to "Chileanize." He also nationalized Kennecott Copper Corporation, with an \$80 to \$150 million interest in El Teniente, the world's largest underground copper mine; Cerro Corporation, with \$15 million in copper investments; and ITT, with \$200 million or more in the Chilean telephone system. Also included were Dow Chemical, Ford Motor Company, General Motors, and more than

200 other North American companies.

One of the reasons Allende had to move rapidly was the economic plight of hundreds of thousands of Chileans. When Frei took over, 25% of the national wealth was held by 5% of the population, and 2.5% by the poorest 20%. In 1970, the richest 5% controlled only 20% and the poor 20% controlled 5%. But hundreds of thousands still lived in *callampas*, and the half of the country's families lived on less than \$30 a month. In 1970, unemployment stood at about 7% and underemployment was far higher. Inflation continued at a rate of 25% to 30% per year.

Allende worked within the constitutional framework and continues to do so. John C. Bennett stated the following shortly after Allende's election:

Allende is a seasoned politician accustomed to working within the system and not an uncompromising revolutionary. We have an opportunity to encourage the success of a regime, inspired by Marxism and backed by Communists whom the Latin American revolutionaries regard as too moderate, in a situation in which the balance of forces may enable the nation to preserve its freedoms and its liberal constitutional structure. It would be a gain for the U.S. to have the experience of living cooperatively with a Marxist regime in this hemisphere, for it is the Marxist ideological bogey that so quickly distorts our policies.³⁹

Bennett went on to say that every experiment that increases diversity among Communist regimes can have its positive value and encourage freedom in all Marxist nations. Bennett concludes:

³⁹ John C. Bennett, "Election in Chile," *Christianity and Crisis*, XXX (October 5, 1970), 201.

Of course there are dangers of destructive polarization and civil conflict, but we hope that the U.S. will not contribute to them. Above all, we hope that the new government will have a chance to succeed and not be driven to the wall with this northern giant as the enemy.⁴⁰

Allende surely shared something of this sentiment as he tried to unite the polarized country. He tried to calm creditors about Chile's external debt of \$2.4 billion, assuring them that he would not default (in fact, the government has unilaterally ceased payment on a large portion of this debt). He initiated public works programs which helped the masses but also increased inflation. He also began to face a severe test which continues to the present of reduced credit from such agencies as the World Bank and Inter-American Development Bank.

Allende received encouragement five months after his election. In nationwide municipal contests, his coalition won 50.8% of the vote (the Popular Unity coalition) as opposed to 36% in the presidential victory.⁴¹ The Communists increased their vote from 15.9% to 17.3%. Allende's Socialist Party doubled its share to 22.8%, replacing the Communists as the strongest element within the Popular Unity coalition. The Christian Democrats polled 25% of the vote. Yet Allende did not have a majority in the Congress where the opposition, especially the Christian Democrats, still were able to block his program.

During these five months Allende expropriated 350 *latifundios*

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 202.

⁴¹ About 3 million of the 3,792,682 registered voters went to the polls to select 1,680 municipal officials from a field of 8,000 candidates.

(large estates) with a total of 2,593,000 acres, thus accomplishing in five months what the previous government did in six years. Wages were increased while prices were controlled, putting pressure on businessmen. The money supply was increased 55.2% during 1970.

President Allende requested that Jacques Chonchol serve as Minister of Agriculture. Chonchol moved to Temuco in south Chile in an attempt to expropriate 1,000 of the 8,000 large farms there and turn them over to the peasants.⁴² Additional flare-ups occurred between the Revolutionary Left-Wing Movement (MIR) and the Communist Youth Organization.⁴³ The young Communists called the MIR extremists "servants of imperialism and reaction." In a battle between the groups on the campus of the University of Concepcion, one of the MIRs was shot to death.

Some confusion also existed in banking and industry. Two textile factories were taken over by the State as were two banks. When Congress refused to give Allende permission to nationalize the banks, the Corporation for Promotion of Production began to buy shares from the public. By May of 1971, about half of the country's domestic bank stock had been purchased and the government controlled eight banks. Vital industries were expropriated by fostering conflict between workers and industrialists. As workers demanded wage increases far beyond

⁴²Special Report, "Chile's Municipal Elections Show Added Support for Allende," *Christian Century*, LXXXVIII:22 (June 2, 1971), 703.

⁴³Frank Bonilla, "The Student Federation of Chile: Fifty Years of Political Action," *Journal of Inter-American Studies*, II:3 (July 1960).

what employers could afford, the government stepped in and appointed a mediator. Usually this person declared that the only solution was the government's purchase of 51% of the industry's stock.

This procedure was not necessary in the expropriation of the copper companies because Allende deducted \$774 million in "excess profits" from the compensation due to Anaconda and Kennecott. This means that the two companies may not receive any compensation for their properties. The Allende administration arrived at the \$774 million figure by estimating each company's average worldwide copper profits over the past 15 years as a percentage of its book value and came up with a figure of 10%. Any profits from the company's Chilean operation that exceeded 10% a year were considered "excessive." Kennecott replied that the "excess profit" figure was more than it had earned in the past fifteen years. Anaconda said that Allende's accounting theory was nothing more than a thin pretext for confiscation. Allende replied by reminding Kennecott that 11% of its net income came from its Chilean investments in 1970, and Anaconda that about two-thirds of its net profits were from Chilean copper. While part of the loss to the American companies could be covered by the U.S. Overseas Private Investment Corporation, the claims from the copper companies and from ITT might total \$400 million. In the 20 years of its existence, the insurance corporation has paid out a total of less than \$4 million.

Chile in 1972 faced certain rather sobering facts. Many factories and farms were occupied. MIR began to speak of "infiltrating" and "propagandizing" among the enlisted men in the army. The prices of

copper continued to drop, thus reducing the inflow of hard currency. The agricultural sector became more stagnant and was unable to feed the rising population, which has been the trend for 25 years. Inflation rose to 163% during 1972, the highest rate in the history of Chile. Inflation has been the main factor in the stimulation of a rampant consumer psychology in all classes, but especially the middle and upper. Since the escudo is devaluated very frequently, there is little reason to save but there is ample reason for buying products which can be stored if necessary. Only about 16% of the gross national product is saved annually. President Allende on November 4, 1971, had called for a 19% rate. Economists note that a 25% minimum must be maintained if a five per cent growth rate is to be sustained.

The State continued to become more and more involved in economic activity, a trend which has been seen for the past thirty years. Direct and indirect investments of State funds in the national economy equaled 70% of the total in 1968. In 1970, over half of the short-term loans were controlled by the State Bank. By 1972, there were only State banks. The private sector has been reduced to the opposition press and little else.

There has been considerable splintering and fighting within the *Unidad Popular* in spite of pleas from the President that the coalition function as a unity. Also, the Popular Unity has demonstrated a sectarian spirit toward other political groups, especially in the University of Chile, in public administration, and in the newly nationalized industries. It is necessary to remember that the Allende

Socialists, leftist Christians and Communists have been out of power for twenty years, and are now taking advantage of the power of being "in." Another difficulty in 1972 was that the UP and the opposition were fairly evenly matched. The Christian Democrats won the rector's job in the University of Chile by 51% to 49% of the vote. The 49% reacted by taking over most of the buildings affected.

Allende, in spite of being the son and grandson of Senators, has had difficulty holding his coalition together. Some of his followers are much more revolutionary than he and want to move even faster. Factories or farms are occupied while the police look the other way. Then there is a legalization, usually based on a long overlooked 1932 law permitting the President to bypass Parliament. This type of process encourages certain groups within the UP to look for means of influencing their voters by giving them as much assistance as possible, whether it be in occupying buildings, farms or factories or in securing rationed items.

Allende has been able to cut unemployment through a public works program, but the domestic budget ran a deficit of some \$600 million last year (1972) on total spending of \$1.4 billion. In October 1971, a 100% wage increase was ordered to give the lower-classes more buying power. In order to pay for the wage advance, the money supply was increased by 160%. The escudo, which was at twelve when Allende took over with the black market at about thirteen, is now officially 46 and over 300 on the black market. Productivity is declining in many industries, but Allende contends that this will occur only

during the transition period. Industrial production in October fell 7% from the same period a year earlier. Farm output was down about 10% from 1971.

The desire for change exists in Chile among almost all groups. It must be remembered that all of the political parties voted for nationalization of the copper companies, and that the vote was unanimous. The Council of Chilean Bishops communicated to the Vatican its warm approval of the confiscation and pointed to it as a model for other Third World countries. This type of spirit is characteristic of the Chileans. Changes can be brought about without curtailment of the liberties which the Chilean people have known for more than a century. Decades of political stability and democratic tradition provide the framework for further progress in the future. An entire social and economic structure can be revolutionized, and that is exactly what Allende intends to do.

OBSTACLES TO SOCIAL CHANGE IN CHILE

If we want things to stay as they are, things will have to change. . . . (Giuseppe di Lampedusa: *The Leopard*.)

Chile and change are practically synonymous. A vote for Salvador Allende or Eduardo Frei in 1964 meant radical change. Some argue that a vote for Mr. Allende in 1970 meant revolutionary change, while a vote for Tomic or Alessandri meant maintaining the status quo. That is not exactly true. Tomic's platform was very similar to that of Allende since Tomic represents the left of a party which is often characterized as being "left of center." Since Allende received over

36% and Tomic over 28%, one might say that progressive forces received over 64% of the vote, although it is not possible to say that those who voted for Tomic would have automatically voted for Allende had Tomic not been in the race. In 1964 Frei did receive 56% of the vote, the highest percentage in this century. This was a vote for "revolution in liberty" even though it must be added that many to the right voted for Frei as the lesser of two evils in a two-man election. A vote for either man was a vote for radical change.

The First Obstacle: The Opposition

As is usually the case in politics, the party or parties out of power form the opposition and frequently oppose the measures which are proposed by the party in power. One of the obstacles to change in Chile has always been the opposition. Eduardo Frei was opposed, not only by the left, but also by the powerful right. Early in his administration, he was opposed even by the middle-class.⁴⁴ It is expected that the wealthy will oppose social change, but in the 1965 elections, it was the middle-class who voted against higher taxes which were to pay for the reforms envisaged by the Christian Democratic program. The "Chileanization" of the copper mines, agrarian reform, the expansion of education, and the organization of peasants and slumdwelleres required higher taxes. It was the middle-class which suffered most in this increase.

⁴⁴See Paul E. Sigmund, "Backlash in Chile: The Middle Class is Heard From," *Commonweal*, XCII (August 7, 1970), 387-389.

Strong class divisions are basic to Chilean society.⁴⁵ Public affairs are almost invariably discussed in terms of occupation, income, and prestige.⁴⁶ Since colonial times Chile has had at least two classes: the landowning aristocracy and a lower-class formed by the large mass of peasants and domestic servants. The independent Chilean Indians lived as a nation apart.⁴⁷ Slowly *mestizos* (those of mixed blood) appeared and during the next 100 years became the Chilean middle-class. The term "employee class" is commonly used in Chile to designate the middle segment. This is because labor legislation distinguishes clearly between "employee" and "worker." The latter is usually a member of the lower-class. With the arrival of industrialization and modern technology, some of the members of the "employee" class have been moving upward.⁴⁸ Those who have achieved an upper-class status more recently are often more receptive to innovations and appreciative of technology than the old aristocracy, especially as regards business methods, and are politically more sophisticated.⁴⁹

⁴⁵ Federico G. Gil, *The Political System of Chile* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1966), p. 22.

⁴⁶ K. H. Silvert, *The Conflict Society* (New Orleans: Hauser Press, 1961), pp. 230-241.

⁴⁷ Gil, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

⁴⁸ Francisco Walker Linares, "Evolucion Social," *Desarrollo de Chile en la primera mitad del siglo XX* (Santiago: Editorial Universitaria, n.d.), pp. 35-49. See also Joseph H. Fichter, *op. cit.*, pp. 171-192.

⁴⁹ John Gillin, "Some Signposts for Policy," *Social Change in Latin America Today* (New York: Council on Foreign Relations, Harper and Brothers, 1960), pp. 21-58.

Social change is resisted by the upper-classes and to some degree by the middle-class. But what about the lower-class? One would assume that the members of this social group would automatically approve of social change as a means of bettering their conditions. Chile has three groups in this class: the farm workers, the industrial proletariat including factory workers and miners, and a third category which include the steel and copper workers, both of which earn more than the industrial proletariat, but not enough to be classified generally as middle-class. As Benjamin Subercaseaux has stated, the Chilean lower-class is distinguished primarily by its color. He meant that this group, especially the *inquilinos* (sharecroppers), tends to be of mixed blood (*mestizos*).

The bulk of Allende's Popular Unity support comes from the lower-class, indicating something of their willingness to support and work for social change. But even the lower-class has had difficulty making the transition from "opposition" to governmental power. Some of the workers have been opposing government positions for so many years that it has been difficult for them to accept their new role as one of the major groups now in a position to effect change from within. A majority of Allende's programs are directed to aid this oppressed segment of society. It is interesting to note that in the March, 1973 congressional election, Allende's support increased from the 36% which he received in 1970 to about 42%, a possible indication that his support is growing, perhaps even among the middle-class voters.

The middle-class is somewhat more hesitant to support social

change, partly because of vested interests. This class is composed of: more than 90% of the professionals; more than 90% of the university faculties; and most of the teachers at the primary, secondary, and special levels; the officers' corp of the armed forces and police; about two-thirds of the civil service; two-thirds of the private employees; and some small industrialists and merchants. Since many of these individuals are "on the way up," higher taxes and inflation seem to be a greater threat than to the lower-class which barely subsists with or without taxes and inflation. In spite of being middle-class, this group in Chile seems to defend the attitudes and value judgments of the aristocracy. Julio Vega states:

Formed of such heterogeneous professional and economic elements, the middle class has no ideological homogeneity. Although the majority has a center position, its members take part in all the political parties from the extreme Right where some of the most ardent defenders of the principles sustained by the upper class are individuals of the middle class, to the extreme Left where the Communist Party is directed, in large part, by elements of the middle class. . . . This extreme ideological diversity, as well as the economic differences, explain why there does not exist in this great social conglomerate a class consciousness.⁵⁰

Recently the impact of economic and political changes upon the social structure has been significant, giving the lower-class and the middle-class hope for upward mobility. Perhaps this is why the middle-class, at least, hopes for stability so that they can make their "great leap upward."

Although the middle-class has grown rapidly in Chile, average standards of living have not risen much. The condition of the majority

⁵⁰Julio Vega, *op. cit.*, pp. 90-91.

of the population has not risen at all. The masses are moving from rural areas to the cities, but this does not necessarily imply economic improvement. Some groups such as peasants have suffered a substantial deterioration in their standards of living. Economic inequality shows few signs of decreasing, making social change all the more urgent. The need for wider participation in the political process and for better education of the masses requires urgent attention. Modernizing the economy does not necessarily raise the standard of living of the masses. Structural changes, industrialization, rapid urbanization and health benefits may ease the pain but do not eradicate slums or open universities to the lower-class or administer justice. Social conditions cannot improve while the Chilean economy continues to stagnate as it has during the period from 1960 to 1972. Even when economic conditions do improve, this does not imply social equality.

A Second Obstacle: Problems Created by Industrialization and Urbanization

A second major obstacle to social change in Chile may be certain problems created by industrialization and urbanization, coupled with certain bureaucratic hindrances.

In 1930, 28% of Chile's 4.3 million inhabitants lived in cities of more than 20,000. About 25% of the urban dwellers lived in Santiago, a city of almost a million inhabitants. Nitrate and copper provided one-third of the national income and the opportunity of importation, allowing the upper-class to become a consumer-class. But the rest of the economy continued with high labor intensity, low productivity and

poor organization. This was particularly so in the case of agriculture.

The 1929 slump reduced exports, decreased trade reserves, increased unemployment, and created political instability. Public works were initiated and unemployment compensation was paid. Imported goods were restricted, and the public began to demand more importation while refusing to purchase items made in Chile. But this policy did stimulate internal production, and between 1935 and 1955 industrial production was expanded. The population grew rapidly, and more and more people moved to the city. The total population in 1960 was 7.4 million, roughly double that of 1930. Urban population represented about one-third of the national population in 1900, one-half in 1930, and 66% in 1960. Santiago had over 1 million inhabitants in 1930, 2.5 million in 1960, and 3.2 million in 1970.

Social change could have taken place rapidly in this type of economic development and urbanization process were it not for another phenomenon which tends to restrict social change: government bureaucracy. Government participation in the national economy has increased rapidly, partly to promote economic development and partly to extend the scope of various kinds of social services. But the bureaucracy has not been able to keep up with the needs of the masses. Even today over 500,000 of Santiago residents live in *poblaciones callampa* ("mushroom villages"), the product of industrialization and urbanization. Government bureaucracy tends to favor the middle-class with jobs, but the lower-classes receive few benefits.

How can industrialization and economic development resist

change? Industrialization raises hopes which are not always fulfilled, as the masses hope for a growing economy which will produce more jobs and better living conditions. Industrialization should bring about greater equality in social and economic opportunities, but there has been little improvement for the masses in Chile either socially or economically. Industrial development should encourage fuller participation in political processes, but progress has been slow in this area. Politicians have not been able to deal successfully with either stagnation or inflation, producing a feeling of hopelessness among the masses. Only recently have the agricultural workers been able to unionize, implying that previously over 25% of the population has had practically no influence on the political process.⁵¹

Rather than effect social change, political parties in Chile have often concentrated on securing short-term social benefits and privileges for their supporters. Since the Right of Center has been in power for most of the century, the masses have profited little. Even the Left has spent too much time working for the redistribution of wealth and industrial growth as their two main objectives to the neglect of the immediate and long-range needs of the masses. The redistribution of wealth (before Allende) has been met by resistance, and industrial growth (before Allende) has been very slow. It has not been possible until recently to tax the upper-classes with any degree of fairness. Even now the loopholes provide the rich with

⁵¹ See D. Baytelman and R. Chateauneuf, "Interpretacion del censo agricola ganadera de 1955," *Panorama economico*, CCXXIII (1961).

ample opportunity to avoid their responsibilities.

Only with Frei and Allende has the traditional system of land ownership been challenged. Only recently have attempts been made to re-distribute income. Funds are being made available through loans to the lower-classes. When Frei took over, the following conditions existed:

The output of 3 per cent of the larger agricultural holdings represents 62 per cent of the total value of agricultural production. One per cent of the shareholders hold 46 per cent of the total value of shares. In one residential quarter of Santiago 10 per cent of the number of dwellings represents 37 per cent of the total value of dwellings. One per cent of the shareholders of banks and insurance companies hold 35 per cent of the total value in shares.⁵²

Under Allende economic power is concentrated less in the top five per cent of the population, but is now concentrated in the State. The wider economic functions of the State may serve as instruments of social change, especially institutional change. The State is able to control the economic power of the elite. It is able to control the government machinery for the betterment of those in need, namely, the lower-classes. Through the educational system, the State can work for social equalization. In summary, historically speaking, the State offers opportunities for rapid social change.

⁵²Sergio Molina, "Notas en torno a la distribucion del ingreso," *Revista Economia*, LXXIX (1963).

A Third Obstacle: The United States

Latin America has to accomplish a revolution and a synthesis. First, it must cast off the feudal yoke, destructive monopolies, acquire economic independence, and allay the hunger of stomachs and hearts. Then, it must reconcile the requirements of revolution with human respect and refrain from sullyng the present in the name of a bright future. (Josue de Castro, Brazilian statesman who heads the International Center for Development in Paris.)

I think it is obvious that the United States capitalist system, by its control of world markets, has succeeded in developing a vast imperialist system. The main features of the system are the control of the extraction of raw material in the countries conventionally called underdeveloped, and the control of the prices of these materials in the world markets. (Jaime Ponce, Bolivian sociologist.)

The ministers of economics of Latin America said in 1969 that their countries are tired of carrying the weight of the economic progress of advanced countries, especially those of North America. Those countries are developing at our expense. Our subdevelopment is a direct cause of their continuing advance, and their development requires the maintenance of our underdevelopment. (Daniel Araujo, Chilean social scientist.)

When our cheap raw materials cannot pay for the expensive machinery we must import, the United States lends to us at high interest rates. The center of decision for these loans is the United States. The ruling classes allied to the North American capitalists grow stronger, while the real Colombians of the middle and lower classes experience a progressive lowering of their living standards.⁵³

Gary MacEoin has written an interesting article titled "Neocolonialism in Latin America" in which he argues that Latin America is the victim of a system of inequality and injustice, a "colony" of the United States.⁵⁴ While the Europeans were giving their colonies

⁵³These four quotes are the introduction of an article by Gary MacEoin, "Neocolonialism in Latin America," *Christian Century*, LXXXVIII:22 (June 2, 1971), 685.

⁵⁴*Ibid.*

freedom, the United States continued to dominate the Latin American countries economically, politically, militarily and socially as well as psychologically. After several years of "development," Felipe Herrera, a Chilean who was president of the Inter-American Development Bank, wrote in 1967 that "although we are more than half-way through the development decade, the gap between the one world and the other is widening instead of closing as we had hoped."⁵⁵ He went on to state the following:

If current tendencies continue until 1970, the developed nations of the Organization of Cooperation and Economic Development (western Europe, United States, Canada, and Japan) will have increased their wealth by \$600 billion over 1960. That means an average growth of 5 per cent yearly, and it also means that the per capita annual income will be \$2,200. During the same period, the world in process of development will have achieved a gross increase of only 4 per cent; and when we allow for its much higher rate of demographic growth, we end up with the fact that the developed nations will have increased their wealth by 50 per cent (in ten years), while the other two-thirds of the world population will continue to struggle in a sea of misery and frustration. We have not moved toward the international distribution of income which we had discussed, neither by means of commerce nor through financial aid.⁵⁶

Daniel Araujo, a friend of Richard Shaul, shares a statement made by Shaul regarding justice: "A type of realism that cannot conceive of peace and stability independently of justice recognizes that in certain situations conflict must not only be permitted but also encouraged."⁵⁷ Speaking of nourishment, Araujo states that 30% of Chileans are

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 686.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ Carl Oglesby and Richard Shaul, *Containment and Change* (New York: Macmillan, 1967), p. 244.

undernourished in their first year of life. The percentage has risen to 60% by the age of seven. It stays at that level during the following critical years of physical development.

Malnutrition on an individual level also occurs among nations. The "development model" has become a "dependence model" for many Latin American nations. Not only the United States, but also the Soviet Union are exploiting the poorer nations and perhaps keeping the underdeveloped nations dependent. Some 30 nations are keeping the other 100 in subjection.

It is as difficult to effect social change within the class system and economic hierarchy in Chile as it is to throw off the yoke of the imperialists, a catch-all phrase often used so that there will be someone to blame for frustrations and difficulties. Latins, however, generally realize that changes must be made both within and without. Daniel Araujo states that everything in Chilean society has been for the exclusive benefit of an elite and of foreigners. According to him, it is necessary that the public have access to the decision-making process. This requires revolution, the forceful transfer of power.

A Fourth Obstacle: Certain Groups Within the Church

The church and the army have been the two principal social institutions in Latin America concerned with the maintenance of the traditional values of society. Both have important educational functions and both have a far-flung national organization and bureaucracy. The army influences men more than women, and the church women more than

men. Perhaps for this reason, in Chilean politics women tend to be more conservative than men. Allende was elected in 1970 by the vote of men and in spite of the vote of the majority of women.

However, the Catholic church in Chile has been changing in recent years and has been advocating rapid social change. It has become a reformist influence which has tried to emphasize the social doctrines of the church, and it has shown great flexibility and adaptability to change. The church is beginning to see that one of the Christian's most urgent duties is to cooperate toward the solution of problems that concern the common good.

In a meeting between Eugene Carson Blake, Chilean church leaders and President Allende, Dr. Blake stated that the purpose of the visit was to "symbolize the interest of the Christian churches in the world in the sociopolitical experiment going on in Chile."⁵⁸ Allende expressed his appreciation for the support of local Roman Catholic leaders and assured the delegation of his interest in increased dialogue with the Protestant churches of his country. He affirmed the importance of Chile's having the moral support of the world Christian community and "that the churches have a responsibility to keep themselves informed about Chile's socialist experiment in order to counter any effort on the part of those who would distort the truth for their own personal interests."⁵⁹ Allende observed that this "is where the

⁵⁸ Editorial: "World Council Head, Others Confer with Chilean President Allende," *Christian Century*, LXXXVIII:32 (August 11, 1971), 946.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

moral support and understanding of Christians and all those who seek a more human existence for man will be of great importance to us."⁶⁰

Some Protestant churches have expressed approval for social change, especially in recent months. The Methodist Church of Chile, for example, issued a statement of general approval for ways the Allende government apparently was moving to implement announced goals of justice, liberation and humanity for the Chilean people. The statement supported the government's nationalization of huge copper mines owned by U. S. firms and their indemnification. Efforts of the government to carry out a process of change within the law were recognized, but acts of violence and belligerence were condemned because of the unnecessary and tragic confrontations produced.

The church should be conscious that its first obligation is to God incarnated in Jesus Christ, and this obligation obliges the members to engage themselves with man in his search for justice and complete liberation. In this search it is necessary to reaffirm faithfulness to the Gospel of Jesus Christ that contemplates for each man the development of a more abundant and complete life. The church must support the government as it marches toward a future of greater dignity and social, cultural and economic responsibility, free of foreign dependence and domination. Unfortunately, the church has not always been on the side of change.

⁶⁰*Ibid.*

A Fifth Obstacle: Some Political and Economic Systems

What is the new "road" which Chile must travel? Is a form of socialism the answer for Chile, or is it just another obstacle to real change?

The Chilean Bishops issued a rather progressive statement in 1965 which appealed for social change in various ways but condemned communism.

While there is growing public support for some type of "Chilean socialism," or for a mixed economy, some difficulty has been experienced in the precise definition of that mixed or socialistic system. For a majority, it seems that capitalism is not an alternative for Chile, but there is enough fear of "communism" to make wide acceptance of one of the socialistic models difficult. Many are in favor of rapid social change, but are not able to accept a form of socialism because of a mistrust of either international communism or of the Communist Party of Chile. The Chilean Bishops appeal for social change made in 1965 is an example of this ambivalent feeling:

We are profoundly convinced that communism does not remedy the evils we wish to eliminate.

Communism is diametrically opposed to Christianity. . . . It regards religion as a purely human institution, bourgeois and outdated, an opium for the people, something to be persecuted and annihilated because it obstructs the plans of communism. . . . Since communism believes that there is no moral law superior to man and no power above that of the collectivity, which the Communist party organizes and represents, it considers any means to reach its purposes good. The destruction of the notions of God and fatherland, of the most sacred ties binding parents and children, all these are licit to achieve its goals. . . .

The real abuses of the liberal economy . . . and the introduction of a heartless, atheistic liberalism into schools, factories and all of society have been the reasons why many accept communism without scrutinizing it. . . . We reject the view that the Christian must look on communism as a phenomenon, a stage in the course of history, a necessary 'moment' in its evolution, and must therefore accept it as decreed by Providence.

Collaboration with communism is not possible. . . .⁶¹

This was written before Allende and includes a denouncement of "liberal capitalism." The assumption is that Christian democracy provides an alternative to both socialism and capitalism.

A differing point of view was discussed after Allende's election by a group called "the eighty." Meeting in March 1971, the group stated that they favored collaboration with the country's present Marxist administration and with Marxists in general "in the construction of socialism in Chile." The question must be raised if this type of "Chilean socialism" of which President Allende speaks so often is really the same as the "communism" mentioned by the Bishops above. The priests also contended that "Christian solidarity makes it imperative that Christians pledge total support to the historic project of the people of Chile, symbolized in the Allende administration."⁶²

Other groups of priests, professors, and individual priests responded by affirming that in political matters each Catholic must act according to the dictates of his own conscience. The dissenters

⁶¹Bishops of Chile, "Duties of Our Day," *Catholic Mind*, LXIII (March 1965), 60-64.

⁶²"Chilean Catholics Debate Allende's Socialism," *Christian Century*, LXXXVIII:25 (June 23, 1971), 778.

did maintain that the model of a Christian society is incompatible with Marxist socialism.

The Chilean Bishops responded by stating that "the Gospel peremptorily demands that we concern ourselves with the profound and urgent social renovations of the moment."⁶³ The duty of the Christian is to strive for man's emancipation. Concerning Chile's present Marxist administration, they reiterated both their "respect for its authority" and their "desire to cooperate in its service to the people of Chile."⁶⁴ In reference to the declarations of the 80 priests, the Bishops maintained that "the political position of a priest, if offered . . . as an expression of the logical and unavoidable outcome of Christian faith, implicitly condemns any other option and thereby curtails the liberty of other Christians." They also called for deep involvement in the pressing social innovations now going on in Latin America. They also said that there were reasons to believe that the socialism advocated by the 80 priests would be socialism with a predominantly Marxist inspiration. They cited Vatican II in its emphasis on the mission of the church not being aligned with any political system, but is the mission of incarnating the Gospel of full liberation for individuals and society. As such, the church does not have competence to declare itself regarding political or economic solutions. But, on the other hand, the church does have the authority to denounce any proposed solution that might corrupt or enslave man. The Bishops

⁶³*Ibid.*

⁶⁴*Ibid.*

affirmed that adherence to a Marxist type of socialism raises legitimate questions, because "it represents a system whereby fundamental human rights have been suppressed in ways just as condemnable as have taken place within the capitalist system. The concluding remarks of the Bishops were as follows:

We renew our hope in the liberating presence of Christ in the historic process we are experiencing. We pray for His light in order to distinguish and support His action wherever there is endeavor to benefit the destitute and those who suffer. We implore the energy of His love, that we may dedicate it in the service of the common task of converting Chile into a family where all may enjoy bread, respect and happiness.⁶⁵

While this statement is more open to Marxism than the 1965 one, it does seem to give little freedom to either individuals or groups of Catholics to operate within a Marxist-type socialistic scheme. Some Latins accept Marxism as an economic theory but not as a complete philosophy of life. Others accept Marxism because its apparent alternative, capitalism, is not really a viable possibility for Latin America. Marxism is seen by some as the only ideology which advocates rapid change. Many Latin Christians, at least in Chile, see Marxism as an excellent interpretative instrument. It permits the rapid integration of the masses into the social and economic process. Marxism is able to produce the confrontation necessary for change so that a new synthesis may be effected. The model is not Russia or China or Cuba, but Chile. As Allende puts it, Chile's socialism will be socialism "a la Chilena," or, in other words, entirely Chilean. This

⁶⁵*Ibid.*

does not mean that the Marxist model is not useful in explaining class struggle, or as a means of understanding the socio-economic setup, or for seeing more clearly the meaning of economic imperialism. But the extent to which the country will really become "Marxist" is difficult to predict.

Chile is moving toward socialism in 1972. But toward which type of socialism? Jacques Chonchol stated that "the most tragic and dreadful situation for Chile, which would ultimately lead to disaster, would be to copy foreign models."⁶⁶ Allende in a speech to Congress on May 21, 1971, stated:

The task is of extraordinary complexity because there are no precedents from which to draw inspiration. We set foot on a new road; we march without a guide through unknown terrain; having for a compass only our fidelity to the humanism of the ages, especially Marxist humanism, and having as our northern point the design of the society we desire, inspired by the deepest longings of the people of Chile.

The President spoke of the need for "a new model of the State, of the economy, and of society which is centered on man, on his needs and aspirations." This involves a redistribution of wealth and the socialization of the means of production within the bounds of legality and liberty.

In order that Allende may move Chile in the direction of this new model of the State, of the economy, and of the society, which is centered on man, some of these forces which are serving as obstacles

⁶⁶Jacques Chonchol, "Elementes para una discusion sobre el camino Chileno hacia el socialismo," *Cuadernos de la Realidad Nacional* (March 1971), 177.

to change must be removed or rigidly controlled. But other difficulties must be overcome. Some of these are organizational or due to a lack of leadership or program. Agrarian reform needs to be accelerated. State control of basic industries is moving rapidly, but with sufficient funds since Allende is trying to pay for a majority of them by buying shares from the public. Agricultural production is down. Prices are rising rapidly, and inflation rose to 163% in 1972, the highest in Chile's history and the highest rate in the world at the present time. Dollar reserves have dropped drastically. Shortages of many products are causing frustration and causing the need for excessive importation of goods. The unemployment and underemployment level, 28.4% in 1970, continues to plague Chile in 1972. Relations with the U. S. are on the cautious side, and economic pressures from the capitalist world on Chile's copper have caused internal and external problems. Popular Unity committees have been established in factories, schools, and offices to help the people develop a consciousness of the need to exercise power. The educational system is being transformed and textbooks are being rewritten or replaced. Private schools are being integrated into the public system. Attempts are being made to awaken the consciousness of the people so that increased participation in all levels of life will occur. There is a search for a new solidarity, a new society, and a new man.

In this process changes will occur. There are new capacities and possibilities for social flexibility and new forces of change which have been growing during the past four or five years. Transformations

in the social structure may occur and probably will occur, but it is not sufficient to change political and economic structures without changing man. Polarization has occurred in 1972 and early 1973 as never before, but this may be the needed ingredient for confrontation and change. Will the new political leadership be able to meet the new challenges it is facing? Can a true revolution occur in Chile? Is Chilean socialism capable of changing the nature and propensities of man while forming a new man? Or will a "state capitalism" result as the Marxist government buys shares and makes the state the biggest capitalist in Chile? Will the value system keep pace in its adjustment to the rapidly changing institutional structure? How can Chile's power groups be socially restructured?

At the end of his life, Simon Bolivar, the liberator of Latin America, said "Latin America is ungovernable." While the succession of revolutions, military coups, and caudillos in most of Latin America since his time seem to bear him out, "Chile is different." One of the factors which may prove Chile "different," is the church and the possibilities for a liberating, revolutionary existence offered by the church.

CHAPTER IV
BACKGROUND AND CHARACTERISTICS
OF THE CHURCH IN CHILE

The church in Latin America has not taken a very energetic stand for social change. When the early Spanish and Portuguese churches were transported to the New World, they came with the entire apparatus of the foreign church, even the Inquisition. Colonial society was based on the norms of Iberian culture. Indian institutions were adapted to the purposes of the Spaniards.

Spanish character was so fashioned that it can be likened to a medal stamped on each of its two sides with a strong and resolute face. One face is that of an imperialistic conquistador and the other is a friar devoted to God. . . . Neither, when he was most himself, could understand or forgive the other. Yet they were inseparably yoked, sent together into a new world, and together they were responsible for the action and achievement of Spain in America.¹

The church, along with the military and bureaucracy, kept Latin America in religious and social bondage. The church supported the Spanish crown during the independence wars, and then formed the base for conservative parties which attempted to maintain the status quo. Often the church identified with the rich or the past to the detriment of revolutionary change. It became a static structure, a stronghold of ritual and form which tolerated social ills while catering to the rich.

¹Lewis Hanke, *The Spanish Struggle for Justice in the Conquest of America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1949), pp. 177-178.

Its schools were for the rich, its prayers for the poor.

The Catholic church of the 1950's and 1960's was not the church of tradition and history. Church hierarchy is being liberalized. Leaders realized that there was only one priest for every 5,000 Catholics in the 1950's. Between 50% and 80% of the priests were foreign. Catholicism had become divorced from daily life. Individualism had been stressed to the neglect of community life and social responsibility. Catholicism became more inclusive and relevant in the 1960's and early 1970's. While most priests would not have agreed with revolutionaries such as Camilo Torres, there were advances in many countries as the church began to criticize the military rather than support it. The influence of foreign missionaries and churches as well as the influence of Protestants was felt. Rome began to take Latin America more seriously. The International Eucharistic Congress was held in Rio de Janeiro in 1955, and the Latin American Bishops' Conference of CELAM began sponsoring some very progressive projects such as Paulo Freire's *conscientization* effort in northeastern Brazil. Bishops became more liberal, and even Pope Paul VI visited Colombia in 1968 for what was the first visit of a Pope to Latin America. Following this visit, the Medellin documents were written. These documents stated that the Catholic church no longer was the defender of the status quo, but rather was on the side of social reform and development. Even Castro is reported to have said that the United States need not worry about the Soviet Communists in Latin America for they were no longer revolutionaries. Instead, the "gringos" should worry

about the Catholic revolutionaries, because they were. Once Castro dedicated a school in honor of Camilo Torres and ended the dedication speech with the words, "Christians and Marxists, together."

When Castro visited Chile, a group of 21 prominent Cuban churchmen (17 Protestants and four Roman Catholics) sent a formal message to Chilean Christians endorsing the visit, and especially his meetings with Cardinal Silva Henríquez and with representatives of Chilean leftist Christian movements. The message also expressed support for the meeting of "Christians for Socialism." Approval was expressed of Castro's clear pronouncements concerning the participation of Christians in the revolutionary task in the world and particularly in Latin America.

Affirming their conviction that 'it is necessary to liberate, . . . with Marxists and others, the wretched of the earth,' the Cuban Christians declared that socialism 'is the only strategy to make our Christian commitment and our true ecumenical dimension a reality.'²

Many others in Latin America are echoing this type of affirmation. Father Gustavo Perez-Ramirez, the director of the Colombian Institute of Social Development, believes that both Christians and Marxists can work together in the changing of structures, one thing about which they agree. Albert Camus is often quoted when he said that "violence is at the same time unavoidable and unjustifiable." Even the Jesuit scholar C. Jarlot of the Gregorian University in Rome said in March 1968: "There is only one way to escape from an unjust situation; an

²Editorial: "Cuban Church Leaders Hail Castro's Visit to Chile," *Christian Century*, LXXXIX (March 15, 1972), 299.

unjust violence can only be defeated by a just violence." Christians and Marxists are finding dialogue possible and even profitable on such subjects as communitarianism, the poor, development vs. revolution, capitalism vs. socialism, military regimes, the relation of the church to the military, social change, the common needs of the people, and the use of violence. This does not imply that there is widespread dialogue between Christians and Marxists, or that this is the most important issue facing the Roman church. It is merely an example of new direction being taken by the church.

THE ARRIVAL OF PROTESTANTISM IN LATIN AMERICA

The French Huguenots arrived in Brazil in the 1550's to escape persecution, but they were repulsed by the Portuguese authorities. By the late 1700's a few Protestants had arrived in South America partly through Dutch, English, and French pirate settlements. During this period the Moravians began missionary work among West Indian slaves.

During the first decades of the nineteenth century, the colonies threw off the Spanish-Portuguese political yoke, thereby making possible the entrance of non-Catholic religious groups. At first only the Bible societies sensed the need to enter the New World, arriving in the early 1800's. Such men as Penzotti, Tonelli and Thomson carried on colportage work.

The two main means of penetration by Protestants were missionaries and communities of European immigrants who were frequently

Protestants. The most prevalent group was the Lutherans, who like other Protestants, were not evangelistically minded. Even as late as 1910 the missions conference of Edinburgh refused to include Latin America on its agenda. It is important to note that the introduction of Protestantism in Latin America was the exclusive work of foreigners supported by foreign organizations, foreign leadership, and foreign financing. This situation has persisted until the present day in many localities.

The Panama Congress (Missionary Education Movement, 1917) reported that there were 93,337 Protestants in Latin America in 1916. Of this number the Brazilian Evangelical church had 49,623 communicants. In both 1905 and 1916, Argentina and Chile had the largest number of Protestants. The Assemblies of God in Brazil had their beginning as a result of the Azusa Street revival in 1906 in Los Angeles, California.³ The same is true of the Mexican Iglesia Apostolica de la Fe en Cristo Jesus⁴ and of the Brazilian Pentecostal Church. Mr. Hoover, a Methodist minister in Chile, also received a letter explaining the effect of this Pentecostal experience and revival fires were sparked in Chile where Hoover was working.⁵

A second congress was held in 1925 in Montevideo. Whereas

³Emilio Conde, *Historia das assembleias de deus no brasil* (Rio: Casa publicadora das assembleias de deus, 1960), p. 12.

⁴Gaxiola Lopez, *Historia de la iglesia apostolica de la fe en cristo jesus de mexico* (Mexico: Libreria Latinoamericana, 1964), p. 17.

⁵Willis C. Hoover, *Historia del avivamiento pentecostal en Chile* (Santiago: Imprenta el esfuerzo, 1931), p. 9.

only twenty-six of the 304 delegates at the 1916 conference were Latins, more than 50% were Latin at the 1925 conference. English was the spoken language in 1916, but Spanish was spoken in 1925. Missionaries were in charge in 1916; nationals, in 1925. The important questions were raised by Latins in 1925.

After World War II, North America began to send many more missionaries to Latin America.⁶ The Protestant population in Latin America had reached 2,400,000 by 1936, but surged to eight or nine million by 1960 (depending on the source).⁷ The Protestant population increased five times as fast as the civil population during this period. The world and the church began to awaken to the importance of Latin America. The surge was accompanied by the rise of the Pentecostal movement (to be discussed later). This movement had its origin in Chile in 1909 and in Brazil in 1911.

The Rise of Pentecostalism in Latin America

William A. Smalley mentions four basic types of churches to be found in Latin America:

- (1) Mission-directed churches which make no pretense to being indigenous or under local leadership; (2) 'national-front' churches, which are really mission-directed, but which make use of local persons for figurehead leadership; (3) 'indigenized churches,' in which missions have previously had control, but

⁶See Harold Lindsell, "Faith Missions Since 1938," in Wilbert Harr (ed.) *Frontiers of the Christian World Since 1938* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1962), p. 190.

⁷In 1958 the total number of missionaries from all churches was 20,970. Of these, 25% were working in Latin America.

which are now being managed by national leaders in various countries, though often with direct financial support and indirect 'leverage' on policy and programming, and (4) fully indigenous churches, in the sense that they have grown exclusively with Latin leadership and funds.⁸

In some cases the "indigenized churches" and the fully indigenous churches owe much to missionary endeavor, for they are frequently an early break-off from formal missionary work. This is true of the Pentecostal work in Chile, which began in 1909 when Mr. Hoover left the Methodist Church. These fully indigenous churches are worthy of thoughtful consideration because of their many contributions to Protestantism in Latin America.⁹ In some countries, these churches are Protestantism, practically speaking.

It is difficult to speak about the fully indigenous churches statistically because such information is generally unavailable. Not only is there often no central organization, but some of the groups are not concerned about statistics. Since they are making history so rapidly, they see little need to write histories or preserve statistics.

However, these groups may be described generally as follows: (1) emphasis upon divine healing; (2) the belief in speaking in tongues; (3) the filling of the Spirit (as evidenced by healing or the gift of tongues); (4) deep emotional fervor; (5) general adherence to

⁸William A. Smalley, "Cultural Implications of an Indigenous Church," *Practical Anthropology*, V:2 (March-April 1958), 51-65.

⁹See Eugene A. Nida, "The Indigenous Churches in Latin America," *Practical Anthropology*, VIII:3 (May-June 1961), 97-105, 110.

a kind of "holiness doctrine" characteristic of certain forms of Wesleyanism; (6) importance of prayer and the receiving of answers to prayer; and (7) a type of literal Biblicism which takes the Bible seriously but uncritically.¹⁰ These "Pentecostal-like" groups usually develop their ministry through apprenticeship, largely using "laymen" who have served as church school teachers, then deacons or elders, assistant pastors, and finally full pastors at age forty or fifty. Often newer members of the congregation are placed under the spiritual care of "older brothers or sisters in the faith." Almost everyone is given a task to perform. Some pray, others visit, and still others preach in the streets. Some teach or pray for the sick or organize churches in other areas of the province or city.

The type of church organization varies as does the music, theology, form of worship and other elements of the Christian community. Since these are indigenous groups, most of what they do "fits." Communication is effective because what is said is often directed toward the needs of the people. Frequently this communication takes place, not only in the sermon, but also in group activities in which there is ample participation before, during and after the worship services. Some preachers with dramatic talent become the actor while the congregation becomes the chorus.

Henry P. Van Dusen discusses what he calls "sectarian Protestantism," those religious groups which contrast to the older bodies of

¹⁰*Ibid.*, p. 99.

"ecumenical Protestantism."¹¹ He characterizes them as follows:

They are extremely conservative, fundamentalist in theology; their message is strongly biblical; they preach a simple, direct 'gospel' readily understood and appropriated, usually, though not always, with strong emotional overtones. Almost without exception they claim to have recovered and reproduced authentic original Christianity. . . .¹²

Generally they are vigorously and militantly missionary. According to Van Dusen, "there is hardly a country south of the equator where sectarian Protestants do not outnumber the adherents of the traditional Protestant bodies four to one, and in some countries the ratio is at least twenty to one."¹³ Chile's total Protestant constituency is about 750,000 to one million which is at least twelve per cent of the population. Traditional Protestant churches account for 30,000 or less members, while one of the sects, the Methodist Pentecostal Church, claims 400,000, the most numerous, genuinely indigenous Protestant church in Latin America. Seventy-five per cent of Puerto Rico's Protestants are members of sect groups.¹⁴ Only one participant of a dozen members of the Missions Council in Peru is a member of ecumenical Protestantism. In Ecuador, two of the 25 groups in the missionary fellowship have ecumenical associations.¹⁵ Van Dusen mentions a second list of distinctive characteristics of these "sects" as he concludes his article:

¹¹Henry P. Van Dusen, "The Challenge of the Sects," *Christianity and Crisis*, XVIII:13 (July 21, 1958), 103-106.

¹²*Ibid.*, pp. 103-104.

¹³*Ibid.*, p. 104.

¹⁴*Ibid.*

¹⁵*Ibid.*

(1) Direct approach to people where they are. . . . (2) the promise of an immediate life-transforming experience of the living God-in-Christ; (3) the nurture of converts with an intimate, sustaining group-fellowship. . . . *Koinonia* was early Christianity's name for it. 'Class-meeting' was early Methodism's version of it; (4) spiritual ardor sometimes, but by no means always, with excessive emotionalism; (5) intense apocalypticism, like that of the early church, but hardly more extreme than that which is the current vogue in some circles of respectable ecumenical Protestantism; (6) strong emphasis upon the Holy Spirit, the neglected 'step-child' of traditional Protestant theology, as the immediate, potent presence of God within the individual soul and in the Christian community; and (7) above all, a life-commanding, life-empowering, seven-day-a-week devotion, however limited in outlook, to a living Lord of all life.¹⁶

The movement that began in Los Angeles in April, 1906, mentioned previously, spread to Latin America that same year and has resulted in very rapid growth among indigenous Pentecostal groups. In 1960, it was estimated that 80% of Latin American Protestants (*evangelicos*) were Pentecostalist.¹⁷ According to Christian Lalive d' Epinay, Pentecostalism synthesizes Protestantism (christocentricity, biblicism, union of faith and ethics) but with a form of spirituality which is distinctive of the "popular" religions (emotion, rites of possession, collective participation).¹⁸ Lalive summarizes Protestantism in Latin America as follows:

¹⁶*Ibid.*, pp. 105-106.

¹⁷*World Christian Handbook* (London: Grub, 1961). Of a total population of about 200 million in Latin America, about 7,710,000 were thought to be *evangelicos*. See also Nil Bloch-Hoell, *The Pentecostal Movement* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1964), translated from Norwegian; Benton Johnson, "On Church and Sect," *American Sociological Review*, XXVIII (1963), 539-549.

¹⁸See bibliographic references in Christian Lalive d' Epinay, "Toward a Typology of Latin American Protestantism," *Review of Religious Research*, X:1 (Fall 1968), 4-11.

(1) Protestantism in Latin America is an exogenous religious ideology, conveyed by foreigners rather than sought out by native Latin Americans. (2) The religious groupings of migrants (i.e., migrant churches) constitute a distinctive category which need to be treated as functionally related to problems peculiar to migration. They are in no sense indigenous sects. (3) Except for the immigrant churches, all the *evangelicos* groupings are vigorously pursuing a program of proselytizing.¹⁹

Many of the Pentecostalist churches have never passed through a "mission stage" but came directly into existence either as what Nida calls "indigenous churches" or "indigenized churches." These churches are well acclimatized and blended into the local setting. One of the interesting questions that needs to be answered is the reason for the rapid and continued growth of the indigenous Pentecostal movements and the relative stagnation of the missions which preceded them. Also, how does one account for the capacity of rapid adaptation of the former and the estrangement of the latter?

Roman Catholic and Protestant Missionary Emphasis in Latin America

Both Camilo Torres and the Pentecostals in Latin America believe that they have a mission, although their interpretations of that mission are not even similar. Between these two "extremes" is found renewed interest in Latin America on the part of traditional Catholicism and the historic Protestant churches. Catholic author Albert Nevins describes Catholicism as stagnant in Chile and Peru, moribund in Bolivia, and rates South America as the best and most urgent mission

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

field in the world.²⁰ Roman Catholicism has inaugurated a rigorous campaign for the "re-catholization" of Middle and South America.

There are three times as many Catholic foreign missionaries in Latin America as Protestant missionaries. Spain alone has sent 18,000, and in 1961 there were 2,751 from the United States, comprising 38.5 per cent of the United States Catholics' foreign missionary effort.²¹

Protestants have little reason to be over-enthused about their progress in Latin America. Some Protestant groups have been working in Latin America for almost one hundred years, but the results have been meager. Chile was the first of the West Coast republics to admit Protestant missionaries (1845). Peru followed in 1888, and Bolivia in 1898. Chile removed religious disabilities in 1880; Bolivia, in 1905; and Peru in 1915. Chile even separated church and state in 1925. Perhaps this is one of the reasons why Protestant membership in Chile increased between 1951 and 1961 from 227,178 to 803,140.²² This represents an increase of 350%. It is interesting to note that Pentecostal groups account for 75% of the 1951 figure and 88% of the 1961 total. Overall gains in Peru and Bolivia have been 150% and 170%, respectively.

Predominant emphases in the Catholic and Protestant mission movements include a renewed stress on service and social action, theological renewal, a redefinition of the church and its mission,

²⁰"How Catholic is America?" *Sign*, VII (September 1956).

²¹Wilton M. Nelson, "Evangelical Surge in Latin America," *Christianity Today*, VII:21 (July 19, 1963), 5-16.

²²*World Christian Handbook*, 1952 and 1962.

changes in liturgy, and a new concept of the role of the laity. More and more Catholic laymen are feeling a responsibility and a concern for the Catholic religious organizations. Laymen are being given spiritual responsibilities and pastoral duties as well as teaching opportunities. Also, the Bible is being studied and applied more rigorously than previously. Biblical renewal among Catholics stresses a restoration of the Word of God to its proper place in the daily life of the church. Likewise, the image of the church is changing from a conservative, reactionary church opposed to all change to church which permits certain elements to be the vanguard of the forces from radical change. This new phase coincides with renewed Biblical emphasis.

However, both Catholics and Protestants admit some of the difficulties in their mission movements. Alliances have been created between theologically liberal and politically conservative American Bishops with politically and theologically conservative Latin American Bishops and has thus tended to support the status quo. Ivan Illich points out that this alliance has concerned itself with the search for techniques and well-coordinated programs rather than looking for new ideas or solutions to problems.²³ Also, mission movements in both the Catholic and Protestant churches have been too highly institutionalized. Too much attention has been devoted to the maintenance of the institution, both in time and money. Some institutions help to keep alive old, inefficient programs that sap the vitality of the new church.

²³Ivan Illich, "The Seamy Side of Charity," *America*, CXVI:3 (January 21, 1967), 88-91.

Another problem is that foreign clergy (Catholic and Protestant) find it much more difficult than nationals to provide adequate pastoral care. Problems in paternalism arise frequently. Some foreign missionaries are too intellectual in their approach, or too formal and do not allow adequate congregational participation. Also, it has been difficult for some foreigners (as well as many nationals) to interpret the role of the church in the Latin American Revolution. In conclusion, attention will be directed toward this important but delicate problem.

A profound alteration of the social structures in Latin America is needed and is happening in some instances. Obstacles to change must be removed. The needs of the masses and of individuals must be met. Some countries exist with a colonial economic system and a feudal social structure. Other Latin American nations have enormous masses of landless peasants and small-farm owners, both of which need an adequate program of agrarian reform. This type of program would help economic development and a transformation of social structures. Economic solutions must be found and people must be educated.

The church's role in this process is not easy to define. It can help in the re-orientation of social groups which benefit most from the status quo and thus resist social change. It can support reforms with courage and persistence. Institutionalized social systems can be challenged. Corruption can be exposed. Respect for the human person, liberty, and the importance of spiritual values can be stressed for all people. The church can begin, as has the Catholic church in

some countries, by turning over some of its land to the agrarian reform program. Leaders of the church can take progressive stands and organize and lead others in the fulfillment of programs which will begin to respond to the urgent needs of the masses. More favorable climates for innovation can be stimulated. The role of the church in urban situations, in a more industrialized society, in social reintegration, and in slum rebuilding should be evaluated. New social values can be taught by the church to its congregants. Also, the church can exert a reconciling and solidifying influence upon the polarized segments of Latin American society, encouraging dialogue and cooperative action. Gaps must be closed in social differentiation. Opportunities must be provided for advancement socially and economically. Oppression must be corrected, as must excesses in materialism and secularism. The working class needs to be integrated in the social and economic system. Subhuman living conditions must be corrected. New jobs must be found for the unemployed and underemployed. Internal disunity on whatever level must be exposed and resolved.

The church must search for its role in the transformation of social structures and social values. The church is equipped to offer educational programs which will help people adjust to technological society through the transformation of behavior and mentalities, but much study and self-examination is necessary first. Revolutionary changes must take place first in the church before she can participate in the transformation of society. This also involves a transformed clergy and a revolutionized laity. People must be led to fuller

participation in the church itself, in the factory, and in society. The religious spirit found in all men must be cultivated. Laypersons must be taught by other laypersons concerning the utilization of social and political power as expressions of deep spiritual concern. People must be taught to resolve their own problems and the problems of one another through caring, loving groups which take personal growth and social action seriously. Spiritual renewal must be accompanied by social changes which really transform society. In this process churches such as the Chilean Protestant Church must engage in liberating activities, such as "education for liberation."

THE CHILEAN PROTESTANT CHURCH

In order that we may discuss "education for liberation" within a specific context, the Chilean Protestant Church has been chosen as our focal point. To speak of the Protestant Church of Chile is to discuss, among others, the Pentecostal churches in that country, since 81.8% of the Protestants are Pentecostals.²⁴ This figure calculated for the year 1967 totaled 365,900. While more recent data is lacking it is possible to project rates of growth in relation to the latest census of 1970, 8,834,820, and find a calculated estimate brings us to a 1970 figure of 85% and 536,936.²⁵ The reports of local churches in

²⁴William R. Read, Victor M. Monterroso, and Harmon A. Johnson, *Latin American Church Growth* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1969), p. 79.

²⁵John L. Sherrill, *They Speak with Other Tongues* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1964), p. 79.

Santiago registering 40,000 and even 60,000²⁶ staggers the imagination, even taking into account the system of "daughter churches"! The strange phenomenon of "multiplying" by "division" in these churches is equally strange. The facts of history abundantly testify that every schism in these bodies has resulted in accelerated growth of *both* groups involved in the separation!

The following is an attempt to survey the beginnings of Protestantism in Chile, the origin of the Pentecostal churches, and, a description of this movement as it expresses itself in Chile.

The Introduction of Protestantism to Chile

Chile was the first of the West Coast republics in Latin America to admit Protestant missionaries (1845), the first to remove religious disabilities (1880), and the first to separate church and state (1925). The pioneer in missionary work in Chile was James Thomson, an educator who began his journeys in 1817 with a Bible under one arm.²⁷ Thomson came to Chile in 1821 from Argentina, and was very favorably received. While in Chile he founded several schools of the Lancaster System and also established a small press on which textbooks

²⁶James S. Tinney, "Pentecostals Celebrate Their World Flame," *Christianity Today*, XV:36 (December 4, 1970), 244. According to the *World Christian Handbooks*, Protestant membership increased between 1951 and 1961 from 227,178 to 803,140. This represents a 350 per cent increase in ten years. Pentecostal groups account for 75 per cent of the 1951 figure and 88 percent of the 1961 total. See Nelson, *op.cit.*, pp. 5ff.

²⁷See John Caldwell Thiessen, *A Survey of World Missions* (Chicago: Inter-Varsity Press, 1955), pp. 350ff.

were printed. These schools were founded with funds from the British and Foreign School Society, but Thomson himself received salary support only during his first year of work. After that he became fully self-supporting. Thomson's method was to have the government sponsor his educational program, print selected passages of Scripture in large type for use as reading materials, and allow him to print and sell the Scriptures to pay for expenses.

Thomson was invited to Chile because the President of Chile, Bernardo O'Higgins, invited him for one year at the expense of the Chilean government. During that year Thomson founded three schools in Santiago, one of which was equipped to train teachers who could start new schools. Schools were also founded in Valparaiso. On May 31, 1822, President O'Higgins granted him Chilean citizenship in recognition of his work.²⁸ Because of an invitation by San Martin, Thomson left his work in Chile in the hands of Anthony Eaton and sailed for Lima.

Thomson's policy had been to help Latin Americans help themselves. However, the efforts of two representatives of the American board of commissioners for foreign missions, Theophilus Parvin and John C. Brigham, were directed toward a fact-finding expedition to explore the possibilities of Protestant missionary work in South America. They left Boston on July 25, 1823, and passed through Chile in October, 1824. Brigham's recommendation to the American Bible

²⁸Ignacio Vergara, *El protestantismo en Chile* (Santiago: Editorial del Pacifico, 1962), pp. 10ff.

Society was that the sale of Bibles in Latin America should be more heavily subsidized. This policy has been continued to this day. He also advised that the board of missions await developments before undertaking any direct missionary activity in South America. It must be remembered that non-Roman Catholic worship was prohibited by law at this time.

The British and Foreign Bible Society appointed Luke Matthews as agent for the West Coast of South America in 1826. He visited Chile and Peru and recommended that the Roman Catholic Scio version be replaced by the Protestant Valera version. The American Bible Society made the same change in 1842.

Allen Gardiner visited Chile on the H.M.S. Dauntless in 1822, coming into contact with some of the Araucanian Indians. He returned to Chile in 1838 to work with the Indians but his early efforts were frustrating. He moved farther south in 1841, and still farther south in 1842. In 1844, he founded the Patagonian missionary society, but in 1850 while on an expedition to the extreme south portion of Chile, his supplies were stolen and the party died of starvation in 1851. This failure helped the Christian public in England see that South America was just as needy as Africa. In 1854, a schooner such as the one requested earlier by Gardiner, set sail for the Patagonian Islands. In 1859, the missionaries were massacred during a church service, but a number of Patagonians were converted. "The South American Missionary Society" was formed and extended their work gradually, although the Patagonian work ended when the tribes died because of infectious

disease brought in from outside.

Elsewhere in Chile mission activity was slowly spreading. The first church services in Valparaiso were held in private homes by laymen in 1825. These were services primarily for the British colony, which called its first chaplain, John Rowlandson, in 1837. At first only British citizens were allowed to participate, for not even Chilean ladies married to Englishmen were allowed to attend. The first church was completed in 1858 and has been in use ever since.

Mortimer Strong, a surveyor for a New York insurance company, went to Chile as a colporteur of the American Bible Society in 1845, but he returned to the United States in 1853 because of poor health. His grandson was sent to Chile in 1922 and founded the Soldiers' and Gospel Mission. At first he ministered only to soldiers and sailors in Chile, but later he worked among the Indians and Ladinos of the Chilean population.

The first missionary to take up permanent residence in Chile was David Trumbull (1819-1889), who went to Valparaiso in 1845 under the joint sponsorship of the American Seamen's Friend Society and the Foreign Evangelical Society. He attempted to work both among the foreigners and the nationals in Valparaiso. He made the Bible and Christian literature available in Spanish. The Christian group that was formed under Trumbull's ministry cooperated with the first representatives of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., who arrived in 1873. David Trumbull was a Congregational minister, son of the governor of Connecticut, and a graduate of Yale. His rather broad background made

it possible for him to stress unity as the basic characteristic of all that he did. He and his wife supported themselves by running a school for girls for awhile. When he gave this up to be full-time pastor of the Union Church in Valparaiso, he and his wife had to take on boarders to supplement their small income. Because of Trumbull's efforts in Santiago, a small congregation was formed. This group appealed for their own pastor, and Nathaniel P. Gilbert, another Congregational minister was sent. He and the group present in Santiago organized a Union Church in 1862 for the English-speaking residents there. Trumbull developed a literature program, started a home for abandoned children in Valparaiso, cooperated with the Catholics, worked for religious tolerance and the establishment of secular cemeteries and civil marriages. He became a Chilean in 1886 and died in 1889. He is remembered for his efforts toward unity and his identification with the Chileans he came to serve.

On July 27, 1865, the Chilean Congress interpreted the Constitution to say that non-Roman Catholics could practise their religion in buildings and schools owned by them, but without any indication that the buildings were Protestant. This opened the way for the start of Protestant work in Spanish. Trumbull appealed to the American and Foreign Christian Union, and two men were sent. The first Chilean Protestant Church was organized in Santiago with four members on June 7, 1868. Spanish meetings were started in Valparaiso toward the end of the year, and on October 8, 1869, a Chilean church was organized there. For a number of years the English and Spanish services were

held in the same buildings, the English service in the morning and the Spanish in the evenings.

In 1874, a boys' school was founded in Copiapo by Samuel Julius Christen, a Swiss sent out by the American and Foreign Christian Union. The first Chilean to collaborate was Jose Manuel Ibanez, a hard-working pastor who appealed to university students and other educated Chileans. He was stoned in 1875 and died later that year at the age of 34, perhaps from poisoning. In 1877, the work of Ibanez, Trumbull and others had netted a total of only about 80 Chilean Protestants in the whole country.

Juan Bautista Canut arrived in San Felipe in about 1877. He was born on October 1, 1846, in Valencia, Spain. He joined the Jesuits at the age of 18 and became a lay member, working as a tailor within the order. After arriving in Chile he left the Jesuits but returned to the Catholic church in 1884. He found a New Testament in a rubbish heap at the railway station in Quillota in 1876, and began to preach the Gospel in San Felipe in 1877. To this day followers of Protestants are often called "Canutos."

In 1883 John Mather Allis founded a seminary called the "Instituto Internacional" in Santiago. When the seminary closed in 1898 it had trained 37 students, but only six were then still in the ministry.

When reviewing the history of Protestantism in Chile, it is necessary that one mention the name of William Taylor. Taylor had passed along the West Coast of South America in 1849 on his way from

Baltimore to San Francisco. Taylor did not want to be sent out under the Methodist Episcopal's board because he felt that the Methodists provided too much free help to the new converts, undermining their sense of responsibility. The bishops did not feel that they could ordain the missionaries that Taylor proposed to send out, nor allow them to retain their conference connection in the United States.

But Taylor went regardless. His plan was to plant self-supporting churches in Peru and Chile. These churches were to serve as bases from which the remainder of the population could be evangelized. In 1877, Taylor went to Chile to request permission for the establishment of schools and in some cases, preaching opportunities. In 1878, teachers and pastors were sent from the United States to numerous cities in Peru and Chile. Support was meager, hardships numerous, and several of the workers returned to the States. In 1890, Canut became a Methodist and was sent to Coquimbo and La Serena. Canut was transferred to Concepcion in 1893 and started work there and in other areas.

Willis Hoover came to Iquique in 1889 to teach at the Methodist school, but soon decided to enter Spanish work. Canut possessed not only a gift for preaching, but also the gift of making others into preachers and pastors. He died in Santiago at the age of 50 in 1896. About this time a Spaniard, Jose Torregrosa, started work in Santiago and Valparaiso, building congregations of 200 and 300, respectively. Taylor remained loyal to the Methodist Episcopal mission board in spite of their differences and was elected a bishop for Africa. In 1886, the groups in Chile started organizing themselves into Methodist churches,

and between 1893 and 1903 the work in Chile was fully integrated into that of the missionary society. The methods of self-supporting missions were emphasized as were the development of a lay ministry.

One of the most important people in the Methodist movement after the turn of the century was Willis Hoover. Hoover was born on July 20, 1858, in Freeport, Illinois. He studied medicine at Chicago and offered himself to the William Taylor self-supporting mission in 1889. After teaching for a time in Iquique, he began working as a pastor in Spanish work near Iquique. While on furlough in 1894, he was deeply impressed by a church in Chicago which seemed to be in a constant state of renewal. When he returned to Chile, his congregation had been taken over by another Methodist worker, forcing Hoover to begin anew. In 1902, Hoover replaced a North American Methodist missionary as pastor of the church in Valparaíso. During Biblical studies Hoover was asked questions about the apostolic church, and it was decided that full participation in God's salvation was a real and practical possibility in any age. In 1906, the terrible Valparaíso earthquake destroyed the church building and the only usable buildings were the low wooden shacks which served as homes for many of the members. Therefore, the congregation was divided into groups, each under the care of an exhorter. A tent was used for the central meetings during 1907. A new church building was built in 1908. It could seat 1,000 and was built very largely by the gifts of the congregation itself.

Events outside Chile began to influence Hoover and the

Methodists. Most of Hoover's close friends were Chilean preachers. There was an increasing reaction against revivalism in the Methodist Church in the United States, and the newer missionaries arriving in Chile reflected that feeling. While revivalism was perhaps not the most effective means of evangelizing in the United States, it seemed to be working in Chile, where Methodists were working among the lower classes. Along with this internal influence, Hoover was influenced by seemingly unrelated outbreaks of the Spirit movement in various parts of the world: in the United States on New Year's Day, 1900; with Charles Parham in Topeka, Kansas; later with W. J. Seymour at the Azusa Street Mission in Los Angeles; soon in other parts of the world such as Wales, Scandinavia, South Africa, and India.

The news of these happenings reached Hoover in 1907, and the results drastically affected his life. Certain manifestations were evidenced among the laity in the church Hoover served as early as 1902 in a revival meeting in that city.²⁹ The news of the experiences that reached Hoover in 1907 merely awakened certain interests that had been evidenced earlier in the Valparaiso church. This interest was reinforced by news of an outpouring in India in a home for widowed girls run by Pandita Ramabai. The author was a friend of Mrs. Hoover from earlier years in Chicago. Soon Hoover and members of his congregation were "baptized" in the Holy Spirit.

²⁹ Hoover, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

On February 20, 1908 in the evening a group of some thirty persons gathered in a small parlor of the church to await the baptism in the Holy Spirit. We spent the entire night in prayer and the next morning we broke up without anything unusual happening. As I was passing by the chancel wondering whether or not we had gained anything by the long vigil, while humming a hymn I found my voice faltering and sobs began to break forth. An indescribable sweetness invaded my being down to my fingertips and I cried out 'My Savior, my Savior!' The sobbing continued for a good while and finally ceased, and I continued on my way, no longer asking whether or not I had gained any benefit. I resumed my low humming and this was again interrupted, this time by laughter, uncontrollable laughter. This lasted a few minutes and then passed. The few persons who were still there then left.³⁰

As more and more persons received the outpouring of the Holy Spirit, news of the occurrences reached other churches. The energies of renewal spread to two other Methodist churches in Santiago.³¹ Renewal activities caused public reaction and comments in the newspapers. Certain Methodist leaders and other Methodist churches began to try to calm Hoover and his followers, while others, including North American missionaries, saw these events as a threat, especially to their leadership. These missionaries were strongly influenced by nineteenth century rationalism and the strict construction of Methodist discipline, and represented middle-class ideals and cultural forms. It became a conflict between a nationalist cultural movement opposing alien and class patterns.³²

³⁰*Ibid.*, p. 20.

³¹One of these churches was First Methodist Church, a Methodist congregation in which the author has been serving as co-pastor for the past four years.

³²Emilio Willems, *Followers of the New Faith, Culture Change and the Rise of Protestantism in Brazil and Chile* (Nashville: Vander-

In the Annual Conference of April, 1910, Hoover's position was characterized as "unscriptural, un-Methodist, and irrational," and he was asked to go on furlough. Rather, Hoover chose to accompany his followers and severed his connection with the Methodist Church, thus forming what became the Methodist Pentecostal Church, the largest Protestant Church in Chile today. This departure prepared the way for a truly national or indigenous Pentecostal church to develop a movement which has grown remarkably.

The dissenters rediscovered and reinforced the purely missionary calling of Methodism, which had not been completely lost but at the turn of the century had been expressed as a puritanical, ostentatious piety combined with a liberalist theology. Pentecostalism rooted itself in the pietist tradition, but cut off from the mother church--which meant from the source of finance and leadership--it had to invent the means of assuring its own survival, create its own ministry, and at the same time give up social work, dear to Methodism, for the lack of financial means. This sacrifice was made willingly, so great was the desire for a consecration entirely to 'spiritual things.' Thus the Iglesia Metodista Pentecostal became the first truly national Protestant denomination, both financially and in its leadership (with the one exception of Dr. Hoover). Therein lies the principal internal reason for its future success.³³

The movement gained momentum after the separation of church and state in Chile in 1925, and since that time it has increased its membership at the amazing rate of one hundred per cent every ten years. In essence, the Pentecostal Church of Chile is *the* Protestant Church of

bilt University Press, 1967), p. 89, mentions that the Spirit movement here represented the common people, a group sensitive to the extraordinary aspects of the New Testament narratives, and at the same time heirs to the old Indian animism.

³³Christian LaLive d' Epinay, *Haven of the Masses* (New York: Friendship Press, 1969), p. 14.

Chile. By conservative estimates, eighty per cent of Chilean Protestants are Pentecostals.

The Pentecostal Church of Chile

The purpose of this discussion is not to explain the organizational structure or theology of the Chilean Pentecostal churches, but rather to attempt to outline an educational model which may be relevant to the needs of the Chilean Protestant churches. Since many of these churches have been affected by the Chilean Pentecostals, it seems appropriate to mention briefly some of the distinguishing characteristics of the Chilean Pentecostal churches.

LaLive describes Pentecostalism in terms of three major thrusts: (1) The conquering community (evangelism); (2) the praying and worshipping community (spiritual life); and (3) the teaching community (education).³⁴ The Pentecostal movement is seen as one which is national, popular, and self-supporting. There is a high degree of cohesion and intense participation by the members, most of whom come from the lower strata of the population. Church services are characterized by excitement and a high degree of expectation. Meetings are held, not only in church buildings, but on the street corners, accompanied by lively music performed on a variety of instruments, and group singing. Preaching is simple and direct and invariably

³⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 50-56. Christian LaLive d' Epinay participated with us in the "Pilot Project" and has contributed significantly to the methods used.

accompanied by an invitation to join the group as it proceeds toward the local church for the church service. Even recent converts often find themselves giving their testimony or preaching a few days after their conversion. Almost immediately the convert feels that he or she is a part of the group, whether this participation be on the street or in the worship service in the chapel. The group experience is a demonstratively dynamic one in which singing, clapping and occasional dancing are frequent, as well as utterances in tongues or prophecy.

From the moment of his first contact with the community, the sympathizer finds himself to be an object of interest and surrounded by human warmth. He finds that other people attribute to him an importance which he himself never suspected, and learns that God is interested in him! Men and women confided to me that they wept the first time they attended a Pentecostal service, 'not because of the beauty of the ceremonial--oh no, it is not as beautiful as with the Catholics--but because people spoke to me, the pastor shook my hand, and I was able to sing and pray with them.'³⁵

God's presence is emphasized and the gifts are looked for. Worship is a time when something "happens," when God visits his people. The believer's participate with their whole beings in worship, by singing, shouting, and dancing. Experience is given an important place in both worship and daily life. Integration into the community accompanies individual catharsis, without regard for class distinctions, educational preparation, or other prerequisites. Those who join the Pentecostal groups find that they are accepted and given dignity and ample opportunities for participation.

The Chilean Pentecostal churches seem to be tailored to the

³⁵*Ibid.*, p. 49.

Latin culture and makeup. There is life, enthusiasm and a sense of joy in both worship services and in the other church-oriented activities. Local churches are flexible, elastic and adaptable. Pentecostal brethren are dynamic, adaptable, and function with spontaneity. The missionary message of the Bible is incarnate in their daily lives.

The members of the Pentecostal movement in Chile belong to the lower strata of Chilean society. Because of this, the Pentecostal Church is *the* national church of Chile. Not only do over 80% of the Chilean Protestants now belong to Pentecostal churches, but there is evidence that the percentage is increasing. Even though most of the membership is relatively poor, the work is self-supporting. Tithing is the rule. While there is little social work, the members do share with one another in a spontaneous and personal way. Zeal and hard work are emphasized. Most of the church buildings are constructed by the members themselves.

While doctrine is important, there is no systematic Pentecostal theology. The emphasis is on "personal holiness," combined with a rejection of the "things of this world." The Pentecostal faith is based on a Christocentric approach with ample reference to the Holy Spirit and accompanying manifestations. Most of the groups use Methodist methods of worship and organization, with certain adaptations.

There are in Pentecostalism tendencies toward excess, "caudillismo," a lack of checks and counter-checks on the pastors, theological superficiality, a lack of social concern, some emphasis on legalism, a literalistic interpretation of the Bible, an anti-ecumenical spirit,

a tendency toward emotionalism, and certain misinterpretations of the manifestations of the Holy Spirit. Too much time is spent in the church building by many Pentecostals to the neglect of family and society. Schism is one of the methods used to settle disputes. Personal rivalries thrive among leaders. Also, there is some proselytizing which may be classified as less than helpful to the total well-being of the Church in Chile. But in spite of these and other possible deficiencies, it is difficult to be around these Christian brothers without being influenced by them. It would seem to this writer that the positive contributions outweigh the negative tendencies.

For many humble believers in Chile the baptism of the Spirit has been a truly spiritual experience in which they have stopped thinking about what they could receive from God and started thinking about how they could give themselves to Him, with the natural result that they also started giving themselves to their neighbors. The gifts of the Spirit helped these believers in two ways. Firstly, it reminded them that God had come to them not only in words, but even more importantly in power. He was a God who could still act in everyday life and this was the vital message they could pass on. Secondly, the gifts that the Spirit bestowed upon them, provided these humble and sometimes unlettered believers with something that they could pass on and use for others immediately without waiting for any formal training. They could start practicing how to minister to others without first having to learn how to receive in a way that might blunt their desire to give themselves to others, and in the context of the countries studied, this appears to be something very important. The baptism of the Spirit and the accompanying gifts have provided a vital impetus to the ministry in Chile and made it possible to break the impasse between lay initiative and authoritarian church government.³⁶

³⁶J. B. A. Kessler, *A Study of the Older Protestant Missions and Church in Peru and Chile* (Goes: Oosterbaan le Cointre, 1967), p. 330.

Implications for Theological Education

Since the Chilean Pentecostals generally do not attend any traditional theological seminary, the World Council of Churches felt that Chile needed some type of seminary to offer a type of theological education which could be utilized by at least some of the Chilean Pentecostals, especially in the preparation of their lay pastors, pastors, and church school teachers. For this reason the Theological Community was established, and the "Pilot Project" to be described is one of the attempts to fill this apparent void. However, Pentecostals do not necessarily feel that a void exists, and their own efforts at theological education have been fairly successful.

Generally, teaching in the local churches is neither theologically abstract or profound, but rather practical in nature, dealing with beliefs, precepts, commandments and prohibitions which mark the life of the Pentecostal Christian. Worship services are supplemented by small church school classes which are led by "animators" who begin with a Biblical text and encourage exchanges of reactions, testimonies, experiences and illustrations from daily life.

Any educational model to be used among the Chilean Pentecostals must take seriously their emphasis on salvation, baptism, the second work of baptism, the fruit of the Holy Spirit, certain manifestations of the Spirit, and the indwelling presence of the Spirit, all with a stress on personal experience. The one normative experience of the Pentecostal, apart from conversion, is the baptism of the Holy Spirit. Outward manifestations such as tears, laughter, shouting, visions,

prophecy, and speaking in tongues are signs of this second work of grace. The free expression of the Spirit is important both for worship and for education in the Pentecostal churches.

The Pentecostal experience provides a basis for educational experimentation because of the re-evaluation which occurs as one becomes a part of this movement. The individual acquires new values as he enters this new society. Conversion and baptism provide for equality among the members. The means for spiritual advancement are available to any believer. In fact, any member of the local church may become a leader and even a pastor in a Pentecostal church, although the process may take as long as twenty years.

For these and other reasons which hopefully will soon become apparent, it is my thesis that the Pentecostal churches of Chile have prepared an environment and organizational system which is ideally suited for the utilization of the philosophy and method of Paulo Freire in a program of adult theological education which will combine the best features of both Pentecostalism and Freire. For a comprehensive view of Freire's thought, we will now consider his system of "education for liberation."

CHAPTER V

THE PHILOSOPHY AND METHOD OF PAULO FREIRE: EDUCATION FOR LIBERATION

One of the most important Latin American educational philosophers of our century was born in an area of Brazil which left an indelible imprint on his personality and theory. The Northeast area of Brazil is famous as one of the world's most poverty-stricken areas. Recurrent droughts, combined with maldistribution of land, have made it a crucible of hunger. Recife has some of Latin America's worst slums and a very high rate of illiteracy.

INTRODUCTION TO PAULO FREIRE

Brief Biographical Sketch

Paulo Freire was born in 1920 in Recife, Brazil, one of the most poverty-stricken areas of the Third World. Because of the economic crisis produced by the depression of 1929, Freire's family lost everything and began to share a life of extreme poverty. Malnutrition made young Paulo listless and caused him to fall behind in school. But it also led him to make a vow, at age eleven, to dedicate his life to the struggle against hunger, so that other children would not need to experience the agony he had experienced.¹

¹Richard Shaull's introduction in Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (New York: Herder and Herder, 1970), p. 10.

It was during his childhood years that he discovered what he describes as the "culture of silence" of the dispossessed. By this he means that the ignorance and lethargy expressed by the poor are the direct result of the "whole situation of economic, social, and political domination, and of the paternalism, of which they were victims."² The poor are kept "submerged" in a situation in which they are not able to be critically aware and cannot respond. And it became clear to Freire that the whole educational system was one of the major instruments for the maintenance of this culture of silence.³

The Culture of Silence

The oppressed are under the double domination of their own elites and of foreign elites. The masses are not free to participate, to create, to decide, or to be free. However, to become men, it is indispensable that men have a real voice, the ability "to say a true word."

The "culture of silence" is one in which only the power elites exercise the right of choosing, of acting, and of commanding, without the free participation of the popular majority. Dominated societies are characterized by what Freire calls "magical" thought and action, while technological societies are characterized by "mythical" thought and action. In the latter, work, for example, continues to be alienated and becomes an abstraction. Work demands of men a mechanical

²*Ibid.*, pp. 10, 11.

³*Ibid.*, p. 11.

behavior for mass production domesticates its workers. In an attempt to be efficient, men avoid risk by obeying orders, but they also do not create. Critical thinking is reduced to a minimum as men adopt mythical forms of thinking.

It is in this context that alienated man in his dehumanized society accepts more and more the injustices to which he is subjected. As the elite emerges in either dominated or technological society, false generosity requires men's misery, their alienation, their docility, their resignation, and their silence in order that the privileged groups may continue to nourish on fatalistic attitudes through supportive "benevolent" activities.

Freire attacked this problem by turning his attention to the field of education. In 1947 he began work with adult illiterates in Northeastern Brazil and from that beginning has gradually evolved a method of work with which the word "conscientisation" has been associated.⁴ His philosophy of education was first expressed in written form in 1959 in his doctoral dissertation at the University of Recife, and later in his work as Professor of the History and Philosophy of Education at the same university. He also expressed his theory in his experiments with the teaching of illiterates in that same city. His methodology is widely used by Catholics and by others in literacy campaigns throughout Northeastern Brazil.⁵

⁴"Conscientizacao" in Portuguese appears in Spanish as "conscientizacion" and is often written in English as "conscientisation" or "conscientization."

⁵Ivan Illich, founder of the Center for Intercultural

The Popular Culture Movement

Freire was one of the founders of the Popular Culture Movement in Northeastern Brazil in 1960. This was a movement which addressed the problem of massive illiteracy. Freire was unhappy with traditional teaching methods because, besides using inappropriate materials, these methods seemed to be a way of adapting people to a society which he found rigidly stratified and dehumanizing. Freire developed a plan for cultural discussion groups which proved so successful that peasants were learning to read and write within six weeks. From 1962 there was widespread experiments with his method and the Popular Culture Movement was extended under the patronage of the Brazilian government. In 1963-64 there were courses for coordinators in all Brazilian states. A plan was drawn up for the establishment of 2,000 cultural circles to reach 2,000,000 illiterates, but this plan was interrupted by the new government after the military coup of 1964 because his revolutionary methodology was considered a threat by the government of Brazil.⁶

Documentation at Cuernavaca, Mexico, testifies to its effectiveness. Freire proved in Brazil, Illich says, that "about 15 per cent of the illiterate adult population of any village can be taught to read and write in six weeks, and at a cost compatible to a fraction of one school year for a child. An additional 15 per cent can learn the same but more slowly."

⁶Part of the reason for this military coup was that peasants had learned that they were oppressed and banded together to create a counterforce against their oppressors. Immediately Newton's third law of motion came into play: "Action and reaction are equal and opposite." When the peasants in Northeast Brazil continued occupying estates, the army took over (with U. S. backing) and Freire was failed. In a sense he was the victim of the liberating process.

However, he was released seventy days later and encouraged to leave the country.

Freire did leave Brazil, going to Chile, where he worked for five years with UNESCO and the Chilean Institute for Agrarian Reform in programs of adult education. His method was used extensively in Chile and seminars were held on his work by the U. N. School of Political Sciences. In 1969-70 he was visiting Professor at the Center for the Study of Development and Social Change at Harvard, and in 1970 he began serving as Special Consultant to the Office of Education of the World Council of Churches in Geneva, a post which he has held until the present.

While Freire has numerous admirers in the United States, he is still relatively unknown in spite of the 1970 publication of his *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. A search of the *New York Times Index* reveals not a single mention of him by the *Times* between his exile in 1964 and June 30, 1971. He is not in any *Who's Who*, in the *Encyclopedia Americana*, *Colliers*, or any of the other standard reference books. The *Cumulative Index of Magazine Articles* mentions only one brief article by him. But this is not an index of his popularity. At a weekend seminar in 1972 at Fordham University, up to forty people were expected, but registration was closed after it reached 100, with many being turned away. Hundreds attended Freire's public lectures.

Why the sudden popularity? Gary MacEoin feels that his following developed mostly by word of mouth, especially in underdeveloped

countries.⁷ Present at the Fordham seminar were students from Latin America, a solid sprinkling of Catholic and Protestant missionaries, older graduate students, younger college lecturers, and even academicians who are teaching courses on the "Freire Method" in U. S. colleges. Many clutched his *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* in one of the eleven languages in which it has appeared. All were captivated by the 51-year-old, lean intellectual from Brazil's hungry Northeast, with his full beard, his hypnotic eyes, and his generous gestures which make his method live.

Teaching by Socratic Dialogue

Freire's teaching method is Socratic. He begins his seminars or lectures by establishing a dialogue, by creating a fundamental relationship which is preliminary to the act of knowing. He does not begin by attempting to transfer his knowledge to the listener, but rather he attempts to bring both his own knowledge and that of the listener or listeners into a dialectical relationship which in turn produces mutual enrichment. This is dialogue among equals, as evidenced by the use of first names only. Frequently Freire's own contribution to the exciting discussions is only an occasional exclamation, a gesture, or a brief question.

Freire uses the dialogical method because it seems most suited to one of his goals: to get a person to reflect on what he is, where

⁷Gary MacEoin, "The Freire Method: Conscientization for the Masses," *National Catholic Reporter*, VIII:20 (March 17, 1972), 1.

he is, and why. Through the "Conscientization" process, people develop an awareness of their existential situation. If, for example, Freire is asked what certain ordinary words mean to him, words like poverty, hunger or sickness, he guides the reflection to the point where it becomes obvious to the members of the group that their relationships to the realities expressed by these and similar words is not merely a fact, but the result of a man-devised system maintained for the benefit of a few. When the members of the group develop an awareness of a situation of injustice, a realization that the unjust situation is not inevitable quickly arouses the desire for action change.⁸

Freire's Basic Presuppositions

Freire's basic assumption is that 'man's ontological vocation (as he calls it) is to be a Subject who acts upon and transforms his world, and in so doing moves towards ever new possibilities of fuller and richer life individually and collectively."⁹ The world, for Freire,

⁸See Paulo Freire, "Cultural Action and Conscientization," *Harvard Educational Review*, XL:3 (August 1970), 452-477. For Freire "consciousness of" and "action upon" reality are inseparable constituents of the transforming act by which men become beings of relation. Consciousness is constituted in the dialectic of man's objectification of and action upon the world.

⁹Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, pp. 12, 13. Also see Ermani Maria Fiori, "Aprender a decir su palabra: el metodo de alfabetización del profesor Paulo Freire," *Cristianismo y sociedad*, suplemento: *contribucion al proceso de conscientizacion en america latina* (Montevideo: Junta Latino Americano de Iglesia y Sociedad, 1968), pp. 95-103. This non-commercial supplement was produced for internal study only. Ermani Maria Fiori is ex-professor of Philosophy of the Federal University of South Rio Grande (Brazil); ex-professor of the National University of Brazil; ex-president of the Popular

is not a static and closed order to be accepted and adjusted to, but rather, the world is a problem to be worked on and solved. And it is Freire's conviction that "every human being, no matter how 'ignorant' or submerged in the 'culture of silence' he may be, is capable of looking critically at his world in a dialogical encounter with others."¹⁰ Richard Shaull introduces Freire this way:

Provided with the proper tools for such encounter, he can gradually perceive his personal and social reality as well as the contradictions in it, become conscious of his own perception of that reality, and deal critically with it. In this process, the old paternalistic teacher-student relationship is overcome. A peasant can facilitate this process for his neighbor more effectively than a 'teacher' brought in from outside. 'Men educate each other through the mediations of the world.'¹¹

As this occurs, each man once again can "say his own word, and name the world." When illiterates participate in this sort of educational experience, they "come to a new awareness of self, have a new sense of dignity, and are stirred by a new hope."¹² Men become Subjects rather than mere objects, creators of culture rather than those merely molded by it, responsive agents of change rather than beings living marginally in their society.¹³

Cultural Institute of South Rio Grande; and is presently professor of Philosophy and Vice-Rector of Academic Studies of the Catholic University in Santiago, Chile.

¹⁰Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, p. 13.

¹¹*Ibid.*

¹²*Ibid.*, pp. 13, 14.

¹³Opinion expressed by Paulo Freire in an address ("The 'Real' Meaning of Cultural Action; The Possibility of a Neutral Cultural Action; Cultural Action for Freedom and Cultural Action for

Freire's theoretical educational theory implies an interpretation of man and the world.¹⁴ Man's orientation in the world involves thought-language,¹⁵ which enables man to transform reality. This event is neither a purely subjective event nor an objective or mechanistic one, but an event in which subjectivity and objectivity are united. For Freire, to understand "orientation in the world" places the important question of the purposes of action at the level of critical perception of reality. Orientation to the world means humanizing the world by transforming it. This involves acting with objectives in mind. The awareness of "aim" and "process" is the basis for planning action, which implies methods, objectives, and value options.

Adult literacy is more than a purely technical action. A philosophy of man is involved. One philosophy of man understands him as a receptacle who needs to be "filled" with words and ideas which teachers have chosen. Freire calls this the "digestive" concept of knowledge.¹⁶ Illiterates are considered to be "undernourished," in

'Domestication'; The Theoretical Frame of References of Their Practices") at the Intercultural Center of Documentation (Cuernavaca, Mexico), January, 1970. Hereafter referred to as "The Real Meaning of Cultural Action."

¹⁴Most educational theories imply some type of interpretation of man and the world.

¹⁵Paulo Freire, "The Adult Literacy Process as Cultural Action for Freedom," *Harvard Educational Review*, XL:2 (May 1970), 205, 206. "Thought-language" is the possibility of the act of knowing through man's praxis.

¹⁶See Paulo Freire, "La concepcion 'bancaria' de la educacion y la deshumanizacion," *Cristianismo y sociedad, suplemento: contribucion al proceso de concientizacion en america latina* (1968), 17-25.

need of the food of knowledge. Since illiteracy is a "poison herb," much is said about the "eradication" of illiteracy to cure the disease.¹⁷ Words become what Freire calls "deposits of vocabulary" which are to be "eaten" and "digested." This "nutritionist" view of knowledge sees people as "thirsty for words," and the word must be "brought" to them to save them from "hunger" and "thirst." This word must be "deposited," not born of the creative effort of the listeners. The implication is that man is a passive being, the object of the process of learning to read and write, and not its subject. The object of the literacy task in this approach is to encourage the student to "study" the reading lessons, in spite of the fact that most of the material is alienating and alienated, having little to do with the student's socio-cultural reality.¹⁸ Little effort is made to perceive the relationship of the student to the structure of the society in which he lives. Contemporary illiteracy is not understood as part of the "culture of silence," directly related to oppressive structures. The authentic dimension of words as thought-language in dynamic interplay with reality is ignored in this type of literacy effort. These words, therefore, are not authentic expressions of the world. The poor classes are treated as though they do not have the ability to know and even create the texts which would express their own thought-

¹⁷See Paulo Freire, "La alfabetización de adultos, crítica de su visión ingenua; comprensión de su visión crítica," in *Introducción a la acción cultural* (Santiago: ICIRA, 1969).

¹⁸Freire, "The Adult Literacy Process . . . ," pp. 207, 208.

language at the level of their perception of the world.¹⁹ Since illiterates are often considered "marginal" people, their capacities are also viewed as limited.²⁰

The question must be asked if the "marginal people" decided to move from the center of existence to its margin. Why do people move from the center or near the center to the periphery of society? If people decide to move to the edge of society, then marginality is an option with all that it involves: sickness, hunger, crime, despair, promiscuity, etc. Did 40% of Brazil's population, almost 90% of Haiti's, 60% of Bolivia's, about 40% of Peru's, more than 30% of Mexico's and Venezuela's, and about 70% of Guatemala's make the tragic "choice" to live marginally as illiterates?²¹ On the other hand, if marginality is not by choice, then marginal man has been expelled from and kept outside of the social system and is therefore the object of violence. Does the social structure as a whole really "expel"? Or is marginal man within the social structure? Perhaps what is needed is numerous benevolent counselors who are willing to search the outskirts

¹⁹ See Paulo Freire, and Raul Velozo Farias, "Sugerencias para la aplicacion del metodo en terreno," *Cristianismo y sociedad, suplemento. Contribucion al proceso de concientizacion en america latina* (1968), 66-72.

²⁰ The "marginal" person in Spanish and Portuguese is one who has been made marginal in a passive sense, one who has been sent outside society. This marginal existence must be related to the realities to which they are marginal, historical, cultural, social and economic realities. These factors comprise the structural dimension of reality.

²¹ UNESCO, *La situacion educativa en america latina*, Cuadro 20 (Paris, 1960), p. 263.

of the cities for the stubborn illiterates so that they may receive the gift of the word. But would this really result in the freeing of illiterates? It is Freire's presupposition that this approach is not the answer.

Freire presupposes that this literacy approach will not, in fact, free persons because the very reality which deprives men of the right to speak is not questioned. This questioning must occur, not only for the sake of illiterates, but for the freeing of anyone who is treated as an object in a dependent relationship. Marginality involves being treated as an object. Illiterates are marginal, not because they are "beings outside of," but rather because they are "beings for another." The solution is not to help men become "beings inside of," but it is men freeing themselves, for these persons are not really marginal to the structure of society but oppressed men within it. It is not possible for alienated men to overcome their dependency by "incorporation" into the very social, economic or political structure which is responsible for their dependency. The only road to humanization for these people and for everyone else is authentic transformation of the dehumanizing structure.²²

If the illiterate is a representative of the dominated strata of society, to teach him to read and write does not imply that he should memorize an alienated word, but rather that he should pass through the difficult apprenticeship of "naming the world." The

²²Freire, "The Adult Literacy Process . . . ," pp. 210-212.

literacy process must become cultural action for freedom, an act of knowing in which the learner assumes the role of knowing subject in dialogue with the educator. Through a courageous endeavor of demythologizing reality, men who had previously been submerged in reality begin to emerge in order to re-insert themselves into it with critical awareness.

Freire is a thinker pledged to life.²³ For him ideas are not as important as man's existence. But he is also an educator, and, as such, he places his thoughts in a pedagogy in which he searches the totalizing force of the human "praxis," the heart of this, a reaffirmation of the "practice of freedom." It is Freire's assumption that, in societies whose dynamic order directs the domination of the conscience, the dominant pedagogy is the pedagogy of the dominant classes. The methods of oppression cannot serve to liberate the oppressed. In these societies, governed by the interests of groups, classes, and dominant nations, "education as the practice of freedom" necessarily postulates a "pedagogy of the oppressed." Not a pedagogy *for* him, but on the contrary, one *of* him. The roads to freedom are those of the oppressed himself who is liberated. He is not a thing that is extricated, but an individual who is obliged to act responsibly. Liberal education is incompatible with a pedagogy that, in a conscious or unconscious

²³MacEoin, *op. cit.*, p. 21, observes that "Freire draws constantly on his own experience, stressing that theoretical knowledge cannot bring understanding, even with goodwill. For him practical experience is essential--the testing and refinement of theories when applied to existential situations."

manner, has been exercised by dominating methods and theories. The practice of freedom will only encounter adequate expression in a pedagogy in which the oppressed has proper footing to discover himself and conquer himself, as an individual with his or her own historical destiny.

Thus another of Freire's assumptions is that a neutral education is an impossibility. He states in an interview with *Risk*:

. . . it is impossible to have the neutrality of education just as it is impossible, for example, to have the neutrality of science. It means that no matter if we are conscious or not as educators, our praxis is either for the liberation of men--their humanisation, or for their domestication--their domination.²⁴

If choices are to be liberating ones, humanising ones, it is necessary that the leader or teacher be absolutely clear concerning the methods, the techniques, and the processes which are being used in the educational process. Because teachers often introject in themselves the myths which they received in their experience, in their schooling, these myths become myths which make impossible for them to develop a kind of action for freedom, for liberation.

In a culture weaved with the yarn of domination, barriers are erected which block the educational opportunities of those situated in the proletariat and marginal subcultures. The pedagogy of the oppressed is therefore, the liberator of both the oppressed and the oppressor, as the educator rediscovers behind his pedagogical techniques the historical processes in which human consciences are liberated. As

²⁴"Education for Awareness: A talk with Paulo Freire," *Risk*, VI:4 (1970), 7.

Freire teaches literacy, the "students" actually learn to write their own life, as authors and as witness of their own history. They begin to record their own biography and history. For this reason, the "pedagogy of the oppressed" advocated by Freire and reflected in his method of teaching literacy, contains that human dimension of "education as a practice of freedom" which will liberate persons even though they live in a system of domination. Pedagogy is made anthropology as the "student" composes and conquers, historically, his own figure. The liberating movement of the human consciousness reproduces and manifests the historical process in which a person recognizes himself. In oversimplified words, the teaching of literacy is to establish a consciousness.

DEFINITION OF THE TERM CONSCIENTIZATION

In his talk in Rome and in other writings and lectures, Freire has emphasized repeatedly that he did not "invent" the word "conscientization."²⁵ Freire states:

The word was born during a series of round table meetings of professors at the Brazilian Institute of High Studies (ISEB), which was created after the 'liberating' revolution of 1964, under the wing of the Ministry of Education.

The word was excogitated by some one of the professors there, but I really can't remember who. Anyway, it came out of our group reflections . . . It was there at the ISEB that for the first time I heard the word 'conscientization.' As soon as I heard it,

²⁵Opinion expressed by Paulo Freire in an address ("Conscientizing as a Way of Liberating") in Rome, 1970. Mimeographed copy of taped version of the lecture available from LADOC, II:29a, April, 1972.

I realized the profundity of its meaning, since I was fully convinced that education, as an exercise in freedom, is an act of knowing, a critical approach to reality. It was inevitable, then, that the word became a part of the terminology I used thereafter to express my pedagogical views, and it easily came to be thought of as something I had created.²⁶

However, according to Freire, it was Helder Camara who popularized the term and gave it currency in English.²⁷

Persons as Responsible Subjects

Freire has utilized the term "conscientization" to refer to "learning to perceive social, political, and economic contradictions, and to take action against the oppressive elements of reality."²⁸ "Conscientization" helps men recognize themselves as victims of injustice, to become critical, and to then enter the historical process as responsible Subjects (as one who knows and acts, rather than as an "Object," one who is known and acted upon). Conscientization enrolls men in the search for self-affirmation. Weffort states:

The awakening of critical consciousness leads the way to the expression of social discontents precisely because these discontents are real components of an oppressive situation.²⁹

Conscientization helps the individual overcome his fear of freedom,

²⁶*Ibid.*, p. 1.

²⁷Freire insists that the word be spelled in its Brazilian form, "conscientizacao," rather than as "conscientization," a transliteration from the Spanish.

²⁸*Ibid.*, p. 19.

²⁹Francisco Weffort, in the Preface to Paulo Freire, *Educacao como pratica de liberdade* (Rio de Janeiro, 1967).

his fear of changing the status quo, and his fear of self-affirmation. It helps overcome sectarianism by encouraging critical radicalization. Freire states:

Sectarianism, fed by fanaticism, is always castrating. Radicalization, nourished by a critical spirit, is always creative. Sectarianism mythicizes and thereby liberates. Radicalization involves increased commitment to the position one has chosen, and thus ever greater engagement in the effort to transform concrete, objective reality. Conversely, sectarianism, because it is mythicizing and irrational, turns reality into a false (and therefore unchangeable) 'reality.'³⁰

At times even the revolutionary becomes reactionary by falling into sectarianism in the process of responding to the sectarianism of the Right. But rightly understood, the revolutionary engaged in the process of liberation cannot remain passive in the face of the oppressor's violence. The true radical is committed to human liberation, and in this process confronts, listens to, and sees the world unveiled. He is not afraid to meet people or to enter into dialogue with them.³¹

"He does not consider himself the proprietor of history or of men, or the liberator of the oppressed; but he does commit himself, within history, to fight at their side."³² It is in this sense that the

³⁰Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, pp. 21, 22.

³¹In fact dialogue is a necessity, for no one is conscientized apart from others. The conscience of one person is constituted as the conscience of the world, according to Freire's thought. If every conscience had its own world, persons would be incommunicable nomads. Rather, the conscience is not established in its own emptiness, but because the conscience is always the conscience of the world. The place of necessary encounter is the world. It is Freire's view that consciences are not communicants because they communicate with each other, but rather they communicate because they are communicants.

³²Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, p. 24.

pedagogy of the oppressed is a task for radicals, not sectarians.

Objectivizing Reality

"Conscientization" is possible because man, and only man among the creatures of the earth, can stand off from the world and the reality of things around him.³³ Only man can stand at a distance from a thing and admire it. As men are able to look at or objectivize a thing, they are able to consciously act on the objectivized reality. That is the human praxis, man's action-reflection on the world, on reality.³⁴ Yet, in their approach to the world, men have preliminary moments in which the world, the objective reality, doesn't yet come to

³³Fiori, *op. cit.*, 98, interprets Freire's definition of conscience as "this mysterious and contradictory capacity that man has to put himself at a distance from things in order to consider them as present, immediately present. It is the presence that has the power to reveal things in the present; it is not representation, but a condition of exhibition. It is a self-toleration of man face to face with the medium that envelops him, transforming him in the human world. Engrossed in the natural medium he responds to stimuli. The success of his responses is measured by his major or minor adaptation. Estranged from his vital medium, by virtue of his conscience, he confronts things, giving them objective character, and is confronted by them . . . The individual that assumes conscience moves farther from his limits. For this reason, because he has intentionally projected himself farther from the limit which is intent to confine him, the conscience can detach itself from him, liberate him, and thereby transubstantiate the physical medium in the human sphere." (My translation.)

³⁴Freire states in "Education for Awareness: A Talk with Paulo Freire," p. 9, that "reflection alone is not enough for the process of liberation. We need praxis or, in other words, we need to transform the reality in which we are. But in order to transform reality, in order to develop my action upon reality, transforming it, it is necessary to know reality. Because of this my praxis is, necessarily and constantly, the unity between my action and my reflection."

them as a knowable object of their critical consciousness. In other words, in their spontaneous approach to the world, men's normal, basic attitude is not a critical, but rather ingenuous one.

While there may be some knowledge of reality at this spontaneous stage, a critical attitude has not been developed. Opinions or belief may be possible, but not full knowledge. To have full knowledge, man must become aware. Man must seize reality in the dialectical relations that flow between man and the world, the world and man.³⁵ "Conscientization" implies going beyond this earlier spontaneous phase of apprehension of reality to a critical phase, where reality becomes a knowable object, where man takes a stance and tries to know. "Conscientization" is thus a probing of reality. As a person "conscientizes" himself, he unveils reality and gets at the phenomenic essence of the object he stands in front of, to analyze it.

Conscientization as Commitment

"Conscientization" implies an historical commitment, a commitment in time, because "conscientization" is also a critical insertion

³⁵See "Education for Awareness: A Talk with Paulo Freire," 11. It is important for Freire that readers understand the role of consciousness in the liberation of man. Freire is not trying to defend an idealistic notion that men can liberate themselves in their consciousness. He feels that this is impossible and has never made such an affirmation. He does say that reflection itself alone is not enough for the process of the liberation of men, because action is needed. But action itself alone cannot do it, precisely because man is not only action, but is also reflection. Man doesn't have a consciousness *here* and the world *there*, but rather both of these factors, the objectivity and the subjectivity, must be "incarnating dialectically" in order that conscientization may be understood.

into history. It means that men take on a role as subjects making the world, remaking the world. It asks men to fashion their existence out of the materials that life offers them. In other words, the more men are "conscientized," the more they exist.

The fact that one finds oneself oppressed will help one become involved in a process of liberation only if this discovery leads to an historical commitment that means an involvement. This type of involvement is more than commitment: it is a critical insertion into history in order to create it, to mold it. The oppressed individual who sees his oppressive situation must attempt to transform the concrete oppressing reality in order that he may become historically committed and thus be conscientized. The "conscientization" process implies that man realize that he is oppressed, and that he also know that he can liberate himself if he is able to transform the concrete situation in which he finds himself oppressed. This transformation cannot be transformed by the head alone. Awareness alone cannot "create" reality. "Conscientization" implies a critical insertion into a process, an historical commitment to make changes.

Conscientization as Denouncing and Announcing

For Freire "conscientization" involves the denouncing of the dehumanizing structures and the announcing of structures that will humanize. We denounce dehumanizing structures by knowing them, and then we announce, not a project, but an ante-project. Then the ante-project becomes a project only through an historical praxis. Between

the ante-project and the concretizing of the project, a period intervenes that is called historical commitment. Prophets are those who announce and denounce, those who are permanently committed to a radical process of transforming the world so that men can *be* more. It is precisely at this point that Freire sees a close similarity between his process and a theology of hope, since "conscientization" clearly has to do with what Freire calls "utopia." The more that one is conscientized, the more he becomes, by the commitment that he assumes to change things, announcer and denouncer. The revolutionary process does not cease to be permanent, with its utopian goals ever before it. This type of revolution is an ongoing effort for change.

"Conscientization," then, is a seizing of reality, and a reshaping of reality. "Conscientization" is the most critical approach conceivable to reality. As applied to education, this approach does not merely domesticate by transferring knowledge, but rather "conscientization" makes it possible for a true act of knowing to occur as both teacher and pupil simultaneously before knowing subjects, brought together by the object they are knowing. There is no longer one who thinks, who knows, standing in front of others who admit they don't know, that they have to be taught. Rather, all are inquisitive learners, avid to learn.

The implication of this theory is that to educate oneself is not to learn how to repeat words, but rather *to say one's own word*, to be a creator of culture. To teach the spoken and written words can be a form of mystifying the consciences, depersonalizing them in the

repetition. It is exemplified in the technique of mass propaganda. But when the conscience gains what Freire calls "the dimension of transcendentalism," it becomes liberated and is able to objectify things, thus allowing the student to express reality as he sees it. Not only is reality seen and known, but it is also transformed. This is not only contemplation, but what Freire calls "praxis." As men express themselves by saying their word, they are able to collaborate with others in the construction of a common world, a humanized world.

A Revolutionary Design for an Ideal World

Freire's method of adult education is a revolutionary design for an ideal world. It aims to teach the poor both to read and to appreciate the possibility of improving their wretched circumstances. Because he believes that the oppressed are kept domesticated through the mass media's propaganda, he used images of another sort to awaken and liberate the poor.

In Chile this method was called a "psychological-sociological method of teaching adults," and included a teachers' manual, a series of graded readers and a packet of 25 charts designed both to teach the alphabet and to develop people's "consciousness of their own value as human beings."³⁶ Conscientization, as mentioned previously, signifies the kind of reflective understanding of problems that will issue in effective action.

³⁶John W. Donohue, "Paulo Freire: Philosopher of Adult Education," *America*, CXXVII (September 16, 1972), 168.

Freire accepts the Greek (and Christian) view of man as a being essentially defined by the powers of reflective thought and freedom of choice.³⁷ For Freire, knowledge and liberty are the true "goods" of the soul. Man is most human when he is free and most free when he can choose. It is Freire's desire that these humanistic values be fully available to every one. Although he quotes Marx, Lenin, Mao, Castro, Che, Torres and others, Freire is critical of both capitalist and Communist societies because he believes that neither allows for maximum self-realization and growth in freedom. Although he seldom quotes from the Bible, his basic orientation has distinctively Christian roots.

For example, Freire wants a radical reordering of society through a cooperative dialogue between the haves and the have-nots, between the oppressors and the oppressed. That requires friendship, for there can be little dialogue between antagonists. Freire's Christian metaphors include such statements as "Men in communion liberate each other," and "salvation can be achieved only with others." He advises teachers of the poor to respect and trust each of their students and not attempt to impose their middle-class culture upon them.

Freire also speaks of a radical change of the heart in the Easter imagery of rebirth: "The man who doesn't make his Easter, in the sense of dying to be reborn, is no real Christian," he once stated in a talk in Rome. "That is why Christianity is, for me, such a

³⁷*Ibid.*

marvelous doctrine." It is Freire's conviction that each person has to give his witness, and conscientization is a summons to do that: to be new each day. "Conscientization" is not an imposition on others, but only an invitation to share, to discuss. Loving is not only a free act, but it is an act for freedom. And love that cannot produce more freedom is not love. Freire expresses his Christian commitment in the following words:

Conscientization also involves an excruciating moment, a tremendously upsetting one, in anyone who begins to conscientize himself, the moment when he starts to be reborn. Because conscientization demands an Easter. That is, it demands that we die to be born again. Every Christian must live his Easter, and that too is a utopia. The man who doesn't make his Easter, in the sense of dying in order to be reborn, is no real Christian. That is why Christianity is, for me, such a marvelous doctrine. People have accused me of being a Communist, but no Communist could say what I have just said. I never had any temptation to cease being, to stop existing. The reason is that I am not yet completely a Catholic, I just keep on trying to be one more completely, day after day. The condition of being is to go on being. I have never yet felt that I had to leave the Church, or set aside my Christian convictions, in order to say what I have to say, or go to jail--or even refuse to. I just feel passionately, corporately, physically, with all my being, that my stance is a Christian one because it is 100 per cent revolutionary and human and liberating, and hence committed and utopian. And that, as I see it, must be our position, the position of a Church that must not forget it is called by its origins to die shivering in the cold. This is a utopia, it is a denunciation and an announcement with a historical commitment that adds up to heroism in love.³⁸

This radical change of the heart is possible in all men, but the mass of silent oppressed are not able to realize their human potential for free, intelligent activity because their natural and social environment do not permit this expression. This silent

³⁸Freire, "Conscientizing as a Way of Liberating," p. 8.

minority of Third World sufferers is not so much a geographical phenomena as a theologically and politically oppressed population, a world of the voiceless, suffering poor.³⁹

Everett Reimer describes Freire's "culture of silence" as the result of a long history of oppression.⁴⁰ The Latin American nations existed as colonies with little power of decision. Their economies were governed by external forces; their slave and semislave popular masses were submerged without voice or participation.⁴¹ Later they became relatively free from Spain and Portugal to become economically dependent on England, and later, on the United States. The popular masses of these countries, under the double domination of their own elites and of foreign elites, which have an important voice in the economic and political decisions that determine their lives, have developed what Freire calls a "culture of silence."⁴²

This culture of silence pervades the colonized society in which not only the common man, but also the intellectuals are alienated. Reimer states:

In such a situation, human consciousness suffers a partial obliteration which restricts its field of perception and its understanding of true causality. It tends to look for causes outside of objective reality, either in God's will, in the power of destiny, or, sometimes, in the natural incapacity of man. At this level of consciousness, man's behavior is properly characterized as magical.⁴³

³⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 168, 169.

⁴⁰Everett Reimer, "Does the Shoe Fit? A Background Piece on the 'Silent Majority,'" *America*, CXXIV (January 23, 1971), 69-70.

⁴¹*Ibid.*, p. 69.

⁴²*Ibid.*

⁴³*Ibid.*

CONSCIENTIZATION AS THE PROCESS OF EDUCATION FOR FREEDOM

What educational means can free men from the bondage of the culture of silence? How can men be made aware of their fatalist posture towards reality? How can men overcome the education for domestication that insists upon keeping them alienated?

In Freire's view, education for domestication tries to maintain consciousness at a limited level, while education for freedom tries to increase the level of consciousness by making men aware of the current limitations of their collective consciousness. However, liberty is not a gift. The self-perception of limited consciousness is necessary, but it is not sufficient. Education for freedom demands that this recognition lead to action which transforms the reality that originally place limits upon the level of consciousness. This means overcoming an educational device which the oppressors use to keep down the oppressed: the "digestive" or "banking concept" of education. This method strives to deposit in passive recipients only those ideas and attitudes that the ruling class judges proper, while discouraging independent thinking.

Freire would replace this banking concept by a "problem posing" education in which "men develop their power to perceive critically the way they exist in the world with which and in which they find themselves." In this process, it is necessary that knowledge grow out of experiences that are genuine transactions with reality.⁴⁴

⁴⁴In John Dewey's instrumentalism, man is caught up in an evolving universe that constantly confronts him with problems. Freire

These problems stimulate real thinking and result in good ideas which are those solutions that work in practice. For Freire and many others (including Plato, Aristotle and Aquinas), the chief agent in authentic learning is the student himself. The most the teacher can do is cooperate in the educational process.

Freire sees the teacher as "co-operator" in the I-Thou setting of authentic dialogue between two persons who respect each other and learn together. "The encounter," says Freire, "of men in the world is to transform the world." Those who teach adults should have the attitude of comrades, not masters. The teacher of adults cannot be patronizing, manipulative or authoritarian.

The job of the teacher is to cooperate in a process of liberation that has two phases: understanding and action. First of all, both student and teacher must reflect together upon the actual world in which they find themselves. As Freire stated in his talk in Rome, "Even a peasant is a man, and any man wants to explain the reality around him." But this moment of speculative knowledge must be followed by practical efforts to improve the human condition through shared enterprise in science, art, technology and the solving of problems in human relationships. As Freire once wrote to a theology student, "one can't try to change man without touching the world in which he lives." It is not enough to denounce evils; one must "practice" by announcing changes and work for their implementation. It is not enough

probably relied on Dewey for his "problem posing" education.

to teach adult illiterates to read; it is necessary that these people think about the actions they might take to cure the physical and social ills besetting them.

Oppressed and Oppressor

For Freire, man's vocation which is humanization is constantly negated by injustice, exploitation, oppression, and the violence of the oppressors; but man's vocation is affirmed by the yearning of the oppressed for freedom and justice, and by their struggle to recover their lost humanity.⁴⁵ The process of dehumanization affects both the oppressed and the oppressor.⁴⁶

The great task of the oppressed is to liberate themselves and their oppressors as well without becoming in turn oppressors of the oppressors. The goal of the oppressed is to restore the humanity of both. The oppressors, who exploit and rape by virtue of their power, cannot find the strength to liberate either the oppressed or themselves. Therefore, only the power that springs from the weakness of the oppressed will be sufficiently strong to free both. There are times

⁴⁵Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, p. 28.

⁴⁶The oppressed are not to be confined to the lower economic and social class. Freire is convinced that the dehumanization of the consumer society is very similar to that endured by the poor. The middle classes, for example, have been transformed from persons into objects and submerged in a new culture of silence. Their inability to participate in life-and-death decisions has paralyzed their work and education. Freire states: "Their life is reduced to two categories: consumption and self-defense. Everything is programmed for them. They cannot even risk friendship, because a friend makes demands on one's time, and time is money."

when the oppressor manifests "false generosity" by attempting to aid the oppressed, but in order to have the continued opportunity to express their "generosity," the oppressors must perpetuate injustice as well. The "generosity" of the oppressor is often nourished by death, despair, and poverty.⁴⁷ The only true hope lies with the oppressed and those who are truly solidary with them, for only the oppressed truly understand the significance of oppression and the need for liberation. Since the oppressed identifies with the oppressor, he is not conscious of himself as a person or as a member of an oppressed society. The peasant, for example, wants to be "promoted" to overseer and often becomes more of a tyrant towards his former comrades than the owner himself.

Education and Freedom

Both oppressed and oppressor express a "fear of freedom." "The oppressed, having internalized the image of the oppressor and adopted his guidelines, are fearful of freedom."⁴⁸ To be free would require that the oppressed eject the image of the oppressor and replace it with autonomy and responsibility. Freire in his talk in Rome compares freedom from oppression with a theological parallel:

⁴⁷Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, pp. 27ff. The oppressed must beware of the temptation to become oppressors of the oppressors. Since their ideal is to become men, they must be taught that to be a man is not to be an oppressor.

⁴⁸*Ibid.*, p. 31.

Oppression is so potent a thing that it produces fear of freedom. That fear crops up whenever any discussion or even mention of freedom makes them already feel it as a threat. But freedom isn't something that is given. It is something very arduous, because nobody gives freedom to anyone else, no one frees another, nobody can even free himself all alone; men free themselves only in concert, in communion, collaborating on something wrong that they want to correct. There is an interesting theological parallel to this: no one saves another, no one saves himself all alone, because only in communion can we save ourselves--or not save ourselves. You don't save me, because my soul, my being, my conscious body is not something that A or B can save. We work out our salvation, we must do it ourselves. I don't mean that God hasn't saved us by His presence in history: I'm talking now on the human level.⁴⁹

Freedom is acquired by conquest, not by gift. The oppressors will not give freedom to the oppressed. It must be pursued constantly and responsibly, first, by critically recognizing the causes of oppression so that through transforming action, a new situation can be created. The oppressor is himself dehumanized because he dehumanizes others; therefore, he is unable to lead this struggle. Thus the oppressed, from their stifled humanity, must wage for both the struggle for a fuller humanity. Freire puts the choice in these terms:

The oppressed suffer from the duality which has established itself in their innermost being. They discover that without freedom they cannot exist authentically. Yet, although they desire authentic existence, they fear it. They are at one and the same time themselves and the oppressor whose consciousness they have internalized. The conflict lies in the choice between being wholly themselves or being divided; between ejecting the oppressor within or not ejecting him; between human solidarity or alienation; between following prescriptions or having choices; between being spectators or actors; between acting or having the illusion of acting through the action of the oppressors; between speaking out or being silent,

⁴⁹Freire, "Conscientizing as a Way of Liberating," p. 8.

castrated in their power to create and re-create, in their power to transform the world. This is the tragic dilemma of the oppressed which their education must take into account.⁵⁰

Freire has observed that often the oppressed are not able to get a structural view of reality.

They are incapable of envisaging their plight as a result, in the world they live in. Yet even a peasant is a man, and any man wants to explain the reality around him. How can he, one might ask? What reasons can he find? How does his dulled brain conceive his wretched lot?⁵¹

Freire answers his questions by reasoning that normally the peasant will try to size up his situation. He will look for the causes or the reasons for his condition in things higher and more powerful than man. One possibility is God, whom he may see as the maker or the cause of his condition. This type of reasoning may leave the peasant with a feeling of powerlessness. Or others may see destiny as the cause of intolerable situations. Human reason may become fatalistic saying, "Nothing can be done about it." A third possibility is a myth spread by the oppressive dominating structure: the helplessness of the oppressed.⁵² The dominated mind looks inward and decides that it is indeed incapable of coping with its misery. The oppressed mind has been brainwashed, perhaps partly by the oppressor, to think that nothing can be done for its desperate plight.

⁵⁰Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, pp. 32, 33.

⁵¹Freire, "Conscientizing as a Way of Liberating," p. 6.

⁵²*Ibid.*, p. 7.

The Critical Mind as a Free Mind

The critical mind, on the other hand, is the mind that conscientizes itself. This mind realizes that beyond this situation there is a future. There are tasks to be performed, liberating tasks which are creative. The future must be brought into being. The world must be formed. A word must be said so that whatever it is that prevents the humanization of our fellow man may be changed. When man examines oppressive structures and intolerable situations, he is forced to a decision. Freire states:

We either commit ourselves or we don't, but we will have to answer to our consciences for our choice. The process of conscientization leaves no one with his arms folded. It makes some unfold their arms. It leaves others with a guilt feeling, because conscientization shows us that God wants us to act.

As I conscientize myself, I realize that my brothers who don't eat, who don't laugh, who don't sing, who don't love, who live oppressed, crushed and despised, who *are* less each day, are suffering all this because of some reality that is causing it. And at that point I join in the action historically by genuinely loving, by having the courage to commit myself (which is no easy thing!) or I end up with a sense of guilt because I am not doing what I know I should. That guilty feeling rankles in me, it demands rationalizations to gratify myself (the term is used here in its psychological sense). A North American theologian has called those rationalizations 'fake generosity,' because to escape my guilt feelings I go in for philanthropy, I seek compensation by almsgiving, I send a check to build a church, I make contributions: land for a chapel or a monastery for nuns, hoping in that way to buy my peace. But peace cannot be purchased, it is not for sale; peace has to be lived. And I can't live my peace without commitment to men, and my commitment to men can't exist without their liberation, and their liberation can't exist without the final transformation of the structures that are dehumanizing them. There is only one way for me to find peace: to work for it, shoulder to shoulder with my fellow men.⁵³

⁵³*Ibid.*

THE CENTRAL PROBLEM

The central problem, according to Freire, is this: "How can the oppressed, as divided, unauthentic beings, participate in developing the pedagogy of their liberation?"⁵⁴ How can a pedagogy be forged with, not for the oppressed (whether individuals or peoples)?

Freire's answer is that the oppressed participate in developing the pedagogy of their liberation as they discover themselves to be "hosts" of the oppressor. This discovery contributes to the midwifery of their liberating pedagogy. Such liberation is impossible if the oppressed want to be like the oppressor. Rather, the oppressor-oppressed contradiction must be superseded by the humanization of all men through the creation of a new man who is neither oppressed nor oppressor, but man in the process of achieving freedom.

According to Freire, the oppressor-oppressed contradiction is established in a concrete situation which must be transformed. Freire states:

One of the gravest obstacles to the achievement of liberation is that oppressive reality absorbs those within it and thereby acts to submerge men's consciousness. Functionally, oppression is domesticating. To no longer be prey to its force, one must emerge from it and turn upon it. This can be done only by means of the praxis: reflection and action upon the world in order to transform it.⁵⁵

It is necessary that the oppressed confront reality critically, simultaneously objectifying and acting upon that reality. This, of course,

⁵⁴Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, p. 33.

⁵⁵*Ibid.*, p. 36.

is not in the best interest of the oppressor and will probably be stymied by him. Rather, the pedagogy of the oppressed, which is the pedagogy of men engaged in the fight for their own liberation, must begin with the oppressed as the developers of this pedagogy. The oppressed must be their own example in the struggle for redemption.

The pedagogy of the oppressed cannot begin with the egoist interests of the oppressors (an egoism cloaked in the false generosity of paternalism), for this pedagogy makes the oppressed the objects of its humanitarianism while maintaining oppression. This pedagogy is an instrument of dehumanization. The pedagogy of the oppressed cannot be developed or practiced by the oppressors. Rather, the pedagogy of the oppressed must begin with the oppressed themselves.

The pedagogy of the oppressed has two distinct stages. In the first stage, the oppressed unveil the world of oppression and through the praxis commit themselves to its transformation. In the second state, the reality of oppression has already been transformed and ceases to belong to the oppressed. In this stage it becomes a pedagogy of all men in the process of permanent liberation. In the first stage, the consciousness of the men who oppress and the men who suffer oppression must be considered. Oppression exists in any situation in which "A" objectively exploits "B" or hinders his pursuit of self-affirmation as a responsible person. In this situation violence has been initiated by the oppressor, and both his consciousness and that of the oppressed has been affected. This violence is never initiated by the oppressed. How could they be the initiators, if they themselves

are the result of violence? Violence is always initiated by those who oppress, who exploit, who fail to recognize others as persons.

It is in this response of the oppressed to the violence of their oppressors that a gesture of love may be found. In taking away the oppressors' power to dominate and suppress, the oppressed restore to the oppressors the humanity they had lost in the exercise of oppression. Thus only the oppressed can free their oppressors. In this process appears a new man who is neither oppressed nor oppressor.

One of the difficulties of the liberation process is that often the former oppressor now feel that they are the new oppressed, for any situation other than their former seems to them like oppression. For the former oppressors, to be is to have and to be the class of the "haves." But the former oppressors perceive having, not as a condition of all men, but as their condition. For the oppressors, humanity is a "thing," and they possess it as an exclusive right, as inherited property. To the consciousness of the oppressor, the humanization of the "others," of the people, appears not as the pursuit of full humanity, but as subversion.⁵⁶ The oppressors suffocate in their own possessions and no longer are; they merely have. And the oppressors try to turn the oppressed into things so that they will have more. In this concept Freire quotes Fromm:

⁵⁶*Ibid.*, p. 45.

The pleasure in complete domination over another person (or other animate creature) is the very essence of the sadistic drive. Another way of formulating the same thought is to say that the aim of sadism is to transform a man into a thing, something animate into something inanimate, since by complete and absolute control the living loses one essential quality of life--freedom.⁵⁷

The oppressed are viewed as objects which have no purposes except those their oppressors prescribe for them.

It is possible for certain members of the oppressor class to join the oppressed in their struggle for liberation, although these individuals almost always bring with them the marks of their origin: their prejudices and their deformations. This includes a lack of confidence in the people's ability to think, to want, and to know. They talk about the people, but they do not trust them; and trusting the people is the indispensable precondition for revolutionary change. Conversion to the people requires a profound rebirth. It means entering into "communion" with people, listening to their doubts and considering their suggestions as an equal.⁵⁸ It means taking on a new form of existence, new ways of living and behaving. It means trusting the fellow oppressed and his ability to reason. Without this trust

⁵⁷Eric Fromm, *The Heart of Man* (New York: Harper & Row, 1966), p. 32.

⁵⁸See "Education for Awareness: A Talk with Paulo Freire," 11. The man who is in the process of liberation actually discovers his liberated consciousness. This person can only continue the process at the same rate at which he involves himself or commits himself to the world. Freire states: "In my point of view, we cannot liberate the others, men cannot liberate themselves alone, because men liberate themselves in communion, mediated by reality which they must transform. So, the process of liberation is not a gift which I give to you. I think that the same thing concerns salvation, from the theological point of view."

there can be no dialogue, reflection, and communication. Political action must be action with the oppressed. The emotional dependence of the oppressed must be converted into independence. Through reflection and action the oppressed must be convinced of the need for struggle. They must see that this struggle involves the freedom to create and to construct, to wonder and to venture, not just having more. The oppressed have been destroyed precisely because their situation has reduced them to things. To regain their humanity, they must cease to be things and fight as men.

A METHODOLOGY ADEQUATE TO SOLVE THE PROBLEM

Freire has not merely constructed a theoretical base for an educational theory, but has evolved a practical application as he has addressed the specific problem of illiteracy in Latin America. The concrete details are uniquely appropriate to a peasant culture in the Third World.

Initial Steps in the Investigation

1. A team of educators visits a village, taking pictures of ordinary people, places, and the happenings which are the stuff of their everyday life.
2. These pictures are treated as "codifications"--descriptions of the distinctive life patterns of the people.
3. In meetings with residents, these codifications are presented to them for their comments: "Is this the way you see things?"

4. Their comments are the beginning of a process of "decodification"--interpreting the pattern of life.

5. From these comments, the team arranges a new codification, a sharper description of village life as those who live it, see it, and experience it.

6. Again, this is discussed with residents.

7. Soon the problem situations appear: man-woman tensions, tenant-landlord conflicts, father-son hostilities.

8. From the discussion, certain key themes emerge--central points of concern in village life. The team recognizes these as "generative themes," and they are used as the source for sixteen or so vocabulary words.

9. Team members and residents are thus joint learners and teachers, exploring their perceptions of reality together in order to know reality more authentically. And because the action and reflection, the involvement in life and the analysis of it are so intimately related, this act of learning is always an act of engagement.

Generative Themes and Words

It is necessary to investigate what Freire terms the people's "thematic universe," or the complex of their "generative themes." For Freire, the fundamental theme of our epoch is that of domination, which implies its opposite, the theme of liberation. A related theme is under-development. When these themes interact, we have a "minimum thematic universe." In conscientization, an investigation is made of

the generative theme contained in the minimum thematic universe, thus introducing men to a critical form of thinking about their world. In this process the investigators and the people should act as co-investigators. As men explore their thematics, they become critically aware of reality. In conscientization, men emerge from their submersion and acquire the ability to intervene in reality as it is unveiled. Thus conscientization is the deepening of the attitude of awareness characteristic of all emergence.⁵⁹ Freire states:

Every thematic investigation which deepens historical awareness is thus really educational, while all authentic education investigates thinking. The more educators and the people investigate the people's thinking, and are thus jointly educated, the more they continue to investigate. Education and thematic investigation, in the problem-posing concept of education, are simply different moments in the same process.⁶⁰

The program content of the problem-posing method is constituted and organized by the students' view of the world, where their own generative themes are found.⁶¹ The content thus constantly expands and renews itself. The dialogical teacher has the task of participating in an

⁵⁹Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, pp. 100ff.

⁶⁰*Ibid.*, p. 101.

⁶¹In "Education for Awareness: A Talk with Paulo Freire," 13, Freire gives an example of a generative word. "In a syllabic language, like Portuguese and Spanish, for instance, the generative words are those which, being composed in syllables, make possible through the combination of these syllables, the creation of words . . ." Using the example of the one word "paloma" (dove), Freire shows that this word can be broken up into its syllables, making possible the formation of some eighty words. Because illiterates are not orally illiterate, they can recognize new words in new combinations, and in the possibility of combining these syllables, they can recognize their vocabulary, and so they recreate their vocabulary.

interdisciplinary team working on the thematic universe revealed by their investigation to "re-present" that universe to the people from whom he first received it, and to "re-present" it not as a lecture, but as a problem.

Often the teacher-student "re-presents" the problem through didactic material such as photographs, slides, film strips, posters, reading texts, and so forth. One must choose the best channel of communication for each theme and its representation. Sometimes recorded interviews stimulate discussion, or a magazine article or a newspaper clipping. But this presupposes that all members of the group can read. In any event, it is important that the thematics which have come from the people return to them, not as contents to be deposited, but as problems to be solved.⁶² The important thing is for men to come to feel like masters of their thinking by discussing the thinking and views of the world explicitly or implicitly manifest in their own suggestions and those of their comrades.

In this process Subjects meet in cooperation in order to transform the world. Subjects meet to name the world in order that they might transform it. This does not mean that there is no revolutionary leadership, but it does mean that the leaders do not own the people and have no right to steer the people blindly toward their salvation. Such a salvation would only be a gift from the leaders to the people, a breaking of the dialogical bond between them, and a

⁶²Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, p. 116.

reducing of the people from co-authors of liberating action into the objects of this action. Cooperation occurs only among Subjects, but the Subjects may have diverse levels of function and thus of responsibility. This cooperation is expressed through communication in a dialogue which does not impose, does not manipulate, does not domesticate, does not "sloganize." This cooperation leads dialogical Subjects to focus their attention on the reality which mediates them and which, posed as a problem, challenges them. The responses to that challenge is the action of dialogical Subjects upon reality in order to transform it. In this process it is necessary for each Subject to unveil the world and reality so that an appropriate response may be put into action. Freire concludes the *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* with these words:

. . . just as the oppressor, in order to oppress, needs a theory of oppressive action, so the oppressive action, in order to become free, also needs a theory of action.

The oppressor elaborates his theory of action without the people, for he stands against them. Nor can the people--as long as they are crushed and oppressed, internalizing the image of the oppressor--construct by themselves the theory of their liberating action. Only in the encounter of the people with the revolutionary leaders--in their communion, in their praxis--can this theory be built.⁶³

The Dialectical Relation Between Men and The World

The very existence of the "generative themes" which make "conscientization" possible is due to the dialectical relation between

⁶³*Ibid.*, p. 186.

men and the world.⁶⁴ They exist because men are capable of creating their own world. They imply tasks to be realized by men. Because of this, there exists an historical space to be traversed between the themes and the realization of them. It is in this space that the tasks must be completed.

It is in true "praxis" that men perceive the "generative themes" and obtain a clear comprehension of the tasks related to them.⁶⁵ In the "praxis," men see that any theme is always related to its opposite. To recognize the theme of liberation implies not only recognizing the theme of oppression but also the objective "limit situation" of oppression.⁶⁶ The latter theme of oppression or domination characterizes the Third World and is her principal contradiction. Freire states:

In such a situation, obviously, the fundamental generative theme is the autonomy of the Third World, which at the same time is the 'untested feasibility.'⁶⁷

Themes such as liberation and domination are capable of motivating men to seek their realization when men succeed in placing themselves "above" the themes. In this way, men become aware of the profound meaning of the themes, and this awareness "unveils" the way for the completion of their tasks. Cultural action for freedom is initiated

⁶⁴Freire, "The Real Meaning of Cultural Action," p. 7.

⁶⁵"Praxis" is the unity of reflection and action.

⁶⁶*Ibid.*

⁶⁷*Ibid.*

in what Freire calls the "background awareness" of the popular consciousness. With our "background awareness," we are able to isolate the "perceivable objects" in the "background awareness" and single out that which is perceivable from that which is not perceivable. We can distinguish that which is singled out from that which cannot be singled out. After the investigation and the problematization of these "perceptions" in the "background knowledge" of popular consciousness, one of the tasks of cultural action for freedom is that of clarifying its relationships with the fundamental generative theme of the country: its national projects.⁶⁸

Cultural Action for Domestication or for Freedom

In cultural action for "domestication" we remain merely at the level of the "subject" imposing upon the peasant, for example, what is believed to be the best available technical assistance for the cultivation of the land.⁶⁹ In Freire's concept of cultural action for freedom, an attempt is made to go beyond the level of the "subject" to the level

⁶⁸*Ibid.*, p. 10. Freire observes that the Latin American rural masses, either "semi-immersed" or "semi-emerging," have not yet transcended the first level of knowing. At this level it is not possible to encounter themes, as either what he calls "ante-projects" or defined projects, but "subjects." Here Freire distinguishes between themes and "subjects." A topic, for example, relating to the better cultivation of the land would be the "subject" of whose "theme" would be the socio-economic development of the country. The campesino--and not only the *campesino*--perceives "isolatedly" his vital necessities, that is, the "subjects," but not the rational imperatives, which are the themes.

⁶⁹See Paulo Freire, *Extension o comunicacion* (Santiago: ICIRA, 1969).

of "themes." In the latter process both educator and educatee are conditioned by the same reality and are able to educate themselves together. In cultural action for freedom, there is collaboration among actors rather than manipulation of the "spectators" by the actors as in the first process. Cultural action for "domestication" attempts to know "spectators" so that they may be dominated, while cultural action for freedom allows actors to know each other so that together they may transform the world and both become more human themselves and make the world a more human place in which to live. Freire states:

In anti-dialogical cultural action, the actors domesticate the 'spectators,' in dialogical cultural action, no one teaches anyone, no one frees anyone, no one educates anyone. As subjects of these processes, men teach themselves, men educate themselves, men free themselves together.⁷⁰

This is why for Freire cultural action for freedom is at the service of realistic men who live in a realistic situation. This type of action for freedom is "utopian, prophetic and hopeful," but also realistic. Cultural action for freedom implies the denunciation of a dehumanizing reality and the annunciation of its transcendence by another reality in which men will be more fully human. Both denunciation and annunciation are only possible through praxis, the uniting of reflection and action. Cultural action for freedom is an authentic act of knowing since one must know both to denounce and to announce. One must know the reality which is being denounced and also must know the tasks which are to be announced for the new reality.

⁷⁰Freire, "The Real Meaning of Cultural Action," p. 11.

Cultural action for freedom unveils while cultural action for domestication conceals. The first problematizes; the second, "sloganizes." The first seeks a cultural synthesis; the second brings about cultural invasion. The first is an exercise in freedom while the second is a manipulative practice.⁷¹ Educators and others must choose between these two methods. Education as cultural action cannot escape either one of these directions; either it is an instrument of freedom or of domination.

In action for freedom words may become "generators." One of the reasons is their rich phonetic possibility which permits the formation of a maximum number of other words. Another reason is that these words may be codified in pictures, "slides," films and other visual means which are representative of the respective situations which, in the vivid experience of the student, make it possible for him to see his experience replayed. At this same instant, he begins to decodify. This decodification is an analysis and reconstitution of a vivid situation. Reflection upon this situation opens new possibilities for progress. That which earlier was cloistered, little by little is opened. The conscience comes to hear the calls that constantly urge one farther from his limits. This permits continual critical examination of reality.⁷²

When the student gives his words objective character, he then

⁷¹*Ibid.*, p. 12.

⁷²Fiori, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

becomes one with himself and one again *with* others and *in* others, companions of his small "cultural circle." He becomes one with everyone in the same common world and is able to communicate with others in a dialogue which examines critically the reality surrounding the members of the circle. In this manner, together, they recreate critically their world. That which formerly would have engrossed them now may be seen more clearly. In this "cultural circle," one does not teach oneself, but rather one learns with "reciprocity of conscience," as Freire states it. This means that there is no teacher, but only a coordinator, who has the function of giving solicited information to the respective participants and conciliate favorable conditions to the order and well-being of the group. This coordinator attempts to reduce to a minimum his direct intervention in the course of the dialogue.

Codification and De-codification

The "codification"⁷³ and "de-codification"⁷⁴ permit the student

⁷³Freire, "The Adult Literacy Process as Cultural Action for Freedom," p. 214, defines "codification" as that which refers "alternatively to the imaging, or the image itself, of some significant aspect of the learner's concrete reality (of a slum dwelling, for example). As such it becomes both the object of the teacher-learner dialogue and the context for the introduction of the generative word." Codification is the instrument by which we seek knowledge of reality through representations of concrete reality. Codification mediates between the concrete and theoretical contexts of reality. It mediates between the knowing subjects, educators and learners who seek in dialogue to unveil the "action-object wholes."

⁷⁴*Ibid.* "Decodification" refers to a "process of description and interpretation, whether of printed words, pictures, or other 'codifications.'" As such, decodification and decodifying are distinct

to integrate the significance of the respective generator words in his existential context. He rediscovers the meaning of this word in a world expressed by his behavior. He gives consciousness to the world as a significance that is constituted in his expressive intentions concurrently with the intentions of others that signify the same world. This world is the place of meeting of everyone with himself and with others.⁷⁵

In Freire's method codification initially takes the form of a photograph or sketch which represents a real situation or one constructed by the learners. This representation is projected as a slide, allowing the learners to effect an operation basic to the act of knowing: they gain distance from the knowable object. Both educator and learner reflect critically on the knowable object which mediates between them. Decodification allows both to arrive at the critical level of knowing. The codified representation is the knowable object which mediates between knowing subjects. Decodification involves dissolving the codification into its constituent elements. In this operation the knowing subjects perceive relationships between the

from the process of decoding, or as "readers" or "decodifiers" focus on the relationship between the categories constituting the codification. A second stage of decodification involves going beyond what Freire calls the "surface structure" to the comprehension of the codification's "deep structure."

⁷⁵Fiori, *op. cit.*, pp. 96-98, discusses in detail the functions of these generator words. Also see Paulo Freire, "A proposito del tema generador y del universo tematico," *Cristianismo y sociedad, suplemento: contribucion al proceso de concientizacion en america latina* (1968), 53-64.

codification's elements and other facts presented by the real context, relationships which were formerly unperceived. Codification represents a dimension of reality as individuals live it, but this dimension is proposed for their analysis in a context other than that in which they live it. The codification process allows learners to analyze aspects of their own existential experience represented in the codification. By viewing various angles of their existential experience, learners begin to see the whole.

Learners discover the reasons behind many of their attitudes toward cultural reality and thus confront cultural reality in a new way. Slowly the learner's capacity for critical knowing is established. By viewing the codifications, the student moves from what Freire calls the "concrete context" which provides objective facts, to the "theoretical context" where these facts are analyzed in depth, and then back to the "concrete context" where men experiment with new forms of reflection-action (praxis). The educator's role in this process is to propose problems about the codified existential situations so that the learners will arrive at a more critical view of their reality. To be an act of knowing, the adult literacy process must engage the learners in the constant problematizing of their existential situations. It is at this point that the importance of "generative words" may be seen.

As a student uses the generator word, he realizes that language is a part of culture, of which he is subject. He feels challenged to depart from the structure of his words. Rather than attempt to

de-codify the meaningful situations of the generator words alone, the student cooperates with the group⁷⁶ in decodifying various basic units, candid and suggestive codifications by means of dialogue. Through this process man begins to rediscover himself as the subject of the entire historical process of culture. That which he speaks and writes, and the way in which he reads and writes, is all an objective expression of his spirit. It is precisely this spirit which makes and remakes.

In this manner, by objectively characterizing a generator word (first in its entirety and afterwards broken down into its elemental syllables), the student is now motivated not only to seek the mechanism of its recomposition and of the composition of new words, but also to express his thoughts literally. But he will not be left imprisoned by the mechanisms of the verbal composition. Rather, he will seek new words, not for collection in his memory, but to speak and write of his world, his thoughts, and to express his history. To think of the world is to begin to judge it. The student gradually assumes the conscience of a witness to a story in which he knows the author. In the manner in which he perceives himself as witness to his history, his conscience is made reflexively more accountable for this history.⁷⁷ Fiori states:

⁷⁶Freire calls the basic group of knowing subjects (the educator-learners and the learner-educators) the "cultural discussion group." See Paulo Freire, *Educacao como practica de liberdade* (Rio de Janeiro: Paz y Terra, 1967). Chilean Edition (Santiago: ICIRA, 1969). French Edition (Paris: Sintese, 1968).

⁷⁷*Ibid.*, p. 98.

Paulo Freire's method does not teach students to repeat words nor to be restricted to develop the capacity to think them following the logical requirements of an abstract discussion; he simply places the student under conditions of power to re-examine in a critical manner the words of his world, so that in the proper opportunity, he has the knowledge and the power to say his word.⁷⁸

This student enlivens the entire educational enterprise because he begins to sense who he is and he begins to assume responsibility for his mission as a person. By learning to say his word, man renews the world in which he is humanized, and he in turn humanizes the world. With the word man is made man. By saying his word he assumes consciously his essential human condition.

THE STUDENT-TEACHER RELATIONSHIP IN CONSCIENTIZATION

Freire's concept of education is co-intentional education, a system in which teachers and students (leadership and people), co-intent on reality, are both Subjects in the task of unveiling reality and in the task of recreating that knowledge.⁷⁹ "As they attain this

⁷⁸*Ibid.* Fiori adds: "This is why, in a learned culture, the aspiring student learns to read and write, but the ultimate design with which he does this goes far beyond the mere literacy training."

⁷⁹Freire states in "The Adult Literacy Process as Cultural Action for Freedom," p. 212: "To be an act of knowing the adult literacy process demands among teachers and students a relationship of authentic dialogue. True dialogue unites subjects together in the cognition of a knowable object which mediates between them. If learning to read and write is to constitute an act of knowing, the learners must assume from the beginning the role of creative subjects. It is not a matter of memorizing and repeating given syllables, words, and phrases, but rather of reflecting critically on the process of reading and writing itself, and on the profound significance of language." See also Freire, "La alfabetizacion de adultos," pp. 12-15.

knowledge of reality through common reflection and action, they discover themselves as its permanent re-creators."⁸⁰ Thus the presence of the oppressed in the struggle for their liberation is through committed involvement.

Narrative Education

In narrative education, the teacher narrates and the student listens. The teacher "fills" the empty mind of the student with hollow, alienated verbosity. Narration leads the student to memorize the content of the narration. Students are turned into "containers," into "receptacles" to be "filled" by the teacher. The more completely he fills the receptacles, the better teacher he is. "Education thus becomes an act of depositing, in which the students are the depositories and the teacher is the depositor."⁸¹ Students receive, memorize, and repeat the communiques of the teacher. In this "banking" concept of education, students are allowed to receive, file and store the deposits.

Liberating Education

In "libertarian" education there is a drive toward reconciliation. Both teachers and students are simultaneously teachers and

⁸⁰Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, p. 56.

⁸¹*Ibid.*, p. 58.

students.⁸² The following characteristics of banking education are not evident:

- (a) the teacher teaches and the students are taught;
- (b) the teacher knows everything and the students know nothing;
- (c) the teacher thinks and the students are thought about;
- (d) the teacher talks and the students listen--meekly;
- (e) the teacher disciplines and the students are disciplined;
- (f) the teacher chooses and enforces his choice, and the students comply;
- (g) the teacher acts and the students have the illusion of acting through the action of the teacher;
- (h) the teacher chooses the program content, and the students (who were not consulted) adapt to it;
- (i) the teacher confuses the authority of knowledge with his own professional authority, which he sets in opposition to the freedom of the students;
- (j) the teacher is the Subject of the learning process, while the pupils are mere objects.⁸³

Obviously, the banking concept of education regards men as adaptable, manageable beings; but this concept does not develop the critical consciousness necessary to transform the world. Creative power is annulled. Oppressors attempt to change the consciousness of the oppressed rather than the situation which oppresses them. The oppressed become "welfare recipients," marginal people who deviate from the general configuration of a "good, organized, and just" society. The oppressive teacher assumes the role of depositor, prescriber, and

⁸²See Karel Kosik, *Dialectica de lo concreto* (Mexico: Grijalbo, 1967). Freire in "The Adult Literacy Process as Cultural Action for Freedom," states: "The adult literacy process as an act of knowing implies the existence of two interrelated contexts. One is the context of authentic dialogue between learners and educators as equally knowing subjects. This is what schools should be--the theoretical context of dialogue. The second is the real, concrete context of facts, the social reality in which men exist."

⁸³Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, p. 59.

domesticator, reducing the student to a spectator status. The oppressor "regulates" the way the world "enters into" the student, "filling" the student with deposits of information which the student "receives" as a passive entity.

Verbalistic lessons, reading requirements, the methods for evaluating 'knowledge,' the distance between the teacher and the taught, the criteria for promotion: everything in this ready-to-wear approach serves to obviate thinking.⁸⁴

AUTHENTIC EDUCATION: PROBLEM-POSING EDUCATION

Authentic education is not carried on by "A" for "B" or by "A" about "B," but rather by "A" with "B," mediated by the world. The object of action is the reality to be transformed by men together with other men. Oppressors are the ones who act upon men to indoctrinate them and adjust them to a reality which must remain untouched. Freire quotes Mao-Tse-Tung here:

All work done for the masses must start from their needs and not from the desire of any individual, however well-intentioned. It often happens that objectively the masses need a certain change, but subjectively they are not yet conscious of the need, not yet willing or determined to make the change. In such cases, we should wait patiently. We should not make the change until, through our work, most of the masses have become conscious of the need and are willing and determined to carry it out. Otherwise we shall isolate ourselves from the masses. . . .⁸⁵

This requires fighting alongside the people for the recovery of the people's stolen humanity, not trying to "win the people over" to one's

⁸⁴*Ibid.*, p. 63.

⁸⁵From Mao-Tse-Tung, *Selected Works* (October 30, 1944), III, 186-187.

own side. The revolutionary's role is to liberate, and to be liberated, with the people, not to win them over. The revolutionary leaders do not go to the people in order to bring them a message of "salvation," but in order to come to know through dialogue with them both their objective situation and their awareness of that situation.

Thus the starting point for organizing the program content of education or political action must be the present, existential, concrete situation, reflecting the aspirations of the people, and posing this situation as a problem which not only challenges them, but also requires a response, not just at the intellectual level, but at the level of action.

Those committed to the liberation of the oppressed must reject the banking concept and adopt a method which poses the problems of men in their relation with the world: "problem-posing" education.⁸⁶ This type of education responds to the essence of consciousness--intentionality--and rejects communiques, embodying communication. It emphasizes

⁸⁶See Fiori, *op. cit.*, pp. 99, 100. According to Freire, problem-solving is vital to humanizing educational theory because in "conscientization" the object is not simply an object, but on the contrary, at the same time is a problem. The object is that which confronts the individual in the form of an obstacle or a question. The word is a spectacle, a convocation, which is viewed by the conscience and judged by that same conscience. The transcendental designs of the conscience permit it to shrink its horizons indefinitely and, within them, to pass over the moments and the situations which try to refrain and envelop it. Liberated by the force of its transcendental impulses, the conscience can return reflexively to such situations and moments to judge them and to judge itself. For this reason it is capable of critical examination. The reflexivity is the root of its objectivity. If the conscience removes itself from the world and objectifies it, it is because the transcendental designs have made it reflexive.

"being conscious of." Liberating education consists, not in the transferral of information, but rather in acts of cognition in which both teacher and student enter into dialogical relation in which there is a "teacher-student" with "students-teachers." In this process they become jointly responsible for a process in which all grow. No one teaches another, nor is anyone self-taught. This type of teaching strives for the emergence of consciousness and critical intervention in reality.⁸⁷ Problem-posing regards dialogue as indispensable to the act of cognition which unveils reality; problem-posing education makes men critical thinkers. Problem-posing education bases itself on creativity and stimulates true reflection and action upon reality. Problem-posing education affirms men as beings in process of becoming.

Problem-posing education, as a humanist and liberating praxis, posits as fundamental that men subjected to domination must fight for their emancipation. To that end, it enables teachers and students to become Subjects of the educational process by overcoming authoritarianism and an alienating intellectualism; it also enables men to overcome their false perception of reality. The world--no longer something to be described with deceptive words--becomes the object of that transforming action by men which results in their humanization.⁸⁸

⁸⁷When one's conscience is finally aroused in a critical fashion, the individual identifies himself as a person who has been ignorant. He feels called to place pen to paper. It is at this moment that the conscience of the world and the conscience of himself grows together in a direct way; one serves as the interior light of the other. Also in this moment the student conquers himself and the world, making it more human. By this means Freire's pedagogical method endeavors to give man the opportunity to rediscover himself while reflexively assuming his own process in which he continues discovering, manifesting, and configuring through "the method of establishing conscience."

⁸⁸Freire, *The Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, p. 74.

Problem-posing education cannot serve the interests of the oppressor because he would not allow the oppressed to begin to question: Why?

By using the problem-solving approach, schools can become liberating institutions rather than domesticating ones. Since schools are instruments of social control, it is important that schools do more than transfer to the students the existing knowledge. Rather, through the process of problem-solving, students can know new knowledge, or can "make" new knowledge. Since the existing knowledge of today was born from the knowledge of yesterday, and has become old, there is no reason why future knowledge cannot be born from the existing knowledge of today. The reason for this possibility is that knowledge is a process. When this process takes place, it is impossible that schools should be nothing more than institutions in which students are invited to assume a passive attitude in order to receive the transference of the existing knowledge without reflection on the very possibility of the creation of this knowledge. In liberating education persons think as a result of their relationship with the world and become reflective beings. But it is possible, and often occurs, that in dehumanizing education, reality is often mythologized, and thus, consciousness is mythologized. This is because it is impossible to falsify reality without falsifying consciousness, because reality is a reality of consciousness. Education for liberation, on the contrary, demythologizes reality in order to demythologize consciousness.⁸⁹

⁸⁹See "Education for Awareness: A Talk with Paulo Freire," pp. 13-17.

The Use of the Word in Problem-Solving

The "word" is the essence of dialogue itself. In order that the process of learning to read and write may constitute an act of knowing, the human word must become more than mere vocabulary, since language is impossible without thought, and language and thought are impossible without the world to which they refer. The human word must include both word and action. The cognitive dimensions of the literacy process must discover the two dimensions of a word, reflection and action, and relate these to the relationships of men with their world. Since reflection and action interact, if one is sacrificed, the other immediately suffers. There is no true word that is not at the same time a praxis. Thus, to speak a true word is to transform the world. Learning to read and write must be an opportunity for men to know what *speaking the word* really means: a human act implying reflection and action. Not only a few but every individual has this right.⁹⁰ To *speak the word* involves self-expression and world-expression, creating and re-creating, deciding and choosing, and ultimately participating in society's historical process.

The "mute" masses which are prohibited from creatively taking part in the transformations of their society are really prohibited from being. They are alienated from the power responsible for their silence. While they know that they are concrete men and that they do

⁹⁰Freire, "La alfabetizacion de adultos, critica de su vision ingenua; comprension de su vision critica," p. 11.

things, they do not know that men's actions as such are transforming, creative, and re-creative. They do not know that their action upon the world is also transforming it because they have been overcome by the myths of their culture. To participate in praxis (in reflection and action) results in the act of knowing.⁹¹ When action is sacrificed, verbalism results. When reflection is sacrificed, activism results.

Action word = work = praxis
 Reflection
 Sacrifice of action = verbalism
 Sacrifice of reflection = activism

To exist, humanly, is to name the world, to change it. Once named, the world in its turn reappears to the namers as a problem, and requires of them a new naming.

It is the right of every man to say the true word and thus transform the world.⁹² No one can say a true word alone, nor can he say it for another. What is needed is dialogue, the encounter between men, mediated by the world, in order to name the world. In dialogue there is united reflection and action addressed to the world which is

⁹¹Freire, "The Adult Literacy Process . . . ," pp. 212-213. Freire states: "The act of knowing involves a dialectical movement which goes from action to reflection and from reflection upon action to a new action. For the learner to know what he did not know before, he must engage in an authentic process of abstraction by means of which he can reflect on the action-object whole, or, more generally, on forms of orientation in the world. In this process of abstraction, situations representative of how the learner orients himself in the world are proposed to him as the objects of his critique."

⁹²The literacy process calls forth the critical reflection of both learners and educators, as *speaking the word* to transform reality is related to man's role in this transformation. This involves man's right to be literate, but it involves something even more important: man's right to have a voice.

to be transformed and humanized. In this dialogue it is not possible to "deposit" ideas, or to simply exchange ideas, or to argue in a hostile manner, or to dialogue on behalf of others. Dialogue as a creative act, does not serve as a crafty instrument for the domination of one man by another; it is conquest of the world for the liberation of men.⁹³

The "word" for Freire is a means of encounter and a "recognition of the conscience." It is a "word" which presents the world with a conscience and at the same time appears distant. After all, confrontation with the world is a threat and a danger. Fiori states:

Man substitutes a flawed protector of the natural medium for a world that provokes and challenges. In an ambiguous behavior, it (the word) tries in the meantime the technical domain of the world, intent on returning and submerging in the womb, becoming entangled in the indistinction between word and thing. The word primitively is a myth. . . . The myth is objectified by the word that says it. . . . In that ambiguity with which the conscious makes the world, parting it like that, in the objective distance that it presents like a conscious world, the word acquires autonomy that makes it accessible to be recreated in written expression.⁹⁴

The "word" becomes the means by which man expresses his inventive spirit, a liberated spirit. Writing becomes, not only a means of conversing and repeating the spoken word, but rather a means for renewing the world of conscience, which is the creator of culture. The method of Paulo Freire allows the literates to part with few words, but with the possibility of generating a universal vocabulary which will

⁹³Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, p. 77.

⁹⁴Fiori, *op. cit.*, p. 102. (My translation.)

continually restore the conscience and humanize the world. Rather than perceiving themselves as dominated masses, the literates now see themselves as subjects with a conscious dignity. Education is much more than playing with words. It becomes the reflective conscience of culture, the critical reconstruction of the human world, the solemn opening of new roads. Learning to read is learning to say the word. In this process, the human word imitates the divine word: it is creative.

It is creative precisely because this "word" is really word and action. This spoken or written word transforms the world as a live and dynamic word, and not as a category that is inert and spiritless. This word is able to humanize both the world and men, aiding men to work together to make the world. The same word has the power to "mediate consciences" that coexist with liberty. Those who have learned to express this world are also given the capacity for constructing the human world and are capable of assuming the responsibility of giving it direction.

Education for Freedom as Cultural Action

What has been said previously may be summarized by referring to "cultural action" for the freedom or domestication of men.⁹⁵ To understand how Freire uses the phrase "cultural action," we must remember that he is referring to a human action which envelops the

⁹⁵ See Freire, "The Real Meaning of Cultural Action," *op. cit.*

whole being of the actors and involves language, thought and reflection. The same cannot be said of animal action. Action among animals is merely an instinctive effort of adaptation, while action among men is a creative and transforming process.⁹⁶ But this action can become nothing more than an effort to accomplish the given orders at the right time. Existence, rather than being a risk, is reduced to a mechanistic and bureaucratized form of survival on an animal level.⁹⁷

Culture is created by men through their praxis and their work and is seen as the symbolic and "comprehensive" universe in which men act as conscious beings. But as men transform the world through their work, they are conditioned by the products of their own action. In objectifying the world, men objectify themselves. But the positive aspect of the process is that, since men become men through estrangement, they can become free and increasingly humane by overcoming estrangement. It is at this point that "conscientization" becomes important, as persons engage in a critical and permanent process of transforming reality. Thus man is continually being alienated and

⁹⁶As the creative power of men is asphyxiated, they will progressively become dehumanized. In general, says Freire, that is what is happening in intensely bureaucratized social structures, in which men cannot develop their capacity of expressing themselves and their world. Thus "efficiency" comes to mean, not creation or recreation, but the accomplishment of the given orders at the right time.

⁹⁷It is Freire's contention that, instead of risking, which implies the adventure of creating, of transforming, of projecting or of loving, men live dominated by fear, a fear of having feelings, emotions, surprises, friendships and love. This also includes a fear of change, of time, of the future and a fear of freedom.

de-alienated.⁹⁸

"Cultural action" or education for "domestication" systematically encourages man's alienation. For this reason, the de-alienating praxis must be exercised upon the infrastructure and the superstructure of the total structure in a dialectical relationship.⁹⁹ It is not sufficient to change only the superstructure or only the infrastructure.¹⁰⁰ To propagate the superstructure's myths is to bring the

⁹⁸Freire depends partly on Hegel in this analysis: *The Phenomenology of Mind* (New York: Macmillan, 1910), pp. 514-15: ". . . but the existence of this world as also the actuality of self-consciousness, depends on the process that 'self-consciousness divests itself of its personality, by so doing creates the world, and treats it as something alien and external, of which it must now take possession. But the renunciation of its self-existence is itself the production of the actuality, and doing so, therefore, self-consciousness *ipso facto* makes itself master of this world.'" Furthermore, "The means, then, whereby an individual gets objective validity and concrete actuality here is the formative process of culture. The estrangement on the part of the spirit from its natural existence is here the individual's true and original nature, his very substance. The relinquishment of this natural state is, therefore, both his purpose and his mode of existence; it is at the same time the mediating process, the transition of the thought-constituted substance to concrete actuality, as well as, conversely, the transition of determinate individuality to its essential constitution. This individuality moulds itself by culture to what it inherently is, and only by so doing is it then something *per se* and possessed of concrete existence."

⁹⁹For a discussion of these structures, see Freire, "Cultural Action and Conscientization," pp. 457ff. To understand the levels of consciousness which Freire accepts, it is necessary to understand cultural-historical reality as a superstructure in relation to an infrastructure. Also, see Antonio Gramsci, *Cultura y literatura* (Madrid: Ediciones Peninsula, 1967), p. 31.

¹⁰⁰Social structure exists in the dialectic between super- and infra-structures. Infrastructure is created in the relations by which the work of men transforms the world, and these give rise to super-structures. But often the superstructures turn upon the infra-structures and "overdetermine" them.

superstructure itself right into the infrastructure, thereby conditioning the infrastructure too. Even when an infrastructure has been changed, people continue to think as they did before.¹⁰¹ Since education as cultural action (for domestication or for liberation) is related to the social structure, it is, therefore, also related to the dialectical relationship between the infrastructure and the superstructure. A mechanistic view of social change would suggest that, if the infrastructure were changed, the superstructure would automatically be changed too. But this is not what happens.¹⁰²

Freire has borrowed an important concept from Louis Althusser, that of the "dialectic of overdetermination."¹⁰³ What *does* happen, according to Althusser, is that the superstructure when influencing the infrastructure, overdetermines it. Thus educators must develop a critical perception of the "dialectic of overdetermination" so that they may become engaged in a liberating praxis and thus in a truly humanistic praxis.

Cultural action is the way that we "attack" culture. To engage in cultural action means to see culture always as a problem, and not to let it become static, becoming a myth and mystifying us.

¹⁰¹See Paulo Freire, "Annual Report: Activities Completed in 1968" (Santiago: Agrarian Reform Training and Research Institute, 1968).

¹⁰²Lenin, Stalin, Mao-Tse-Tung and Castro have been faced with this problem. Mao's solution was China's cultural revolution.

¹⁰³Freire borrowed this term from Louis Althusser, *Pour Marx* (Paris: Francois Maspero, 1967).

Cultural action for domestication is inherently conducive to the reinforcement, perpetuation or reactivation of cultural myths, while cultural action for freedom or liberation leads to the "extrojection" of myths and the overcoming of "real consciousness" by "critical consciousness." Oppressive education tends to domesticate students by pumping myths into them, while education for freedom involves a real act of knowing, not a mere transference of knowledge. Cultural action for freedom is an authentic act of knowing, an act in which the real overdetermining force of the superstructure manifests itself to the educator and educatee as a knowable object.

Cultural action, or radical education for freedom, cannot be reduced either to the mere improvement of educational techniques, or to the employment of audio-visual aids, or to the increased availability of information. These can be used as means for unveiling reality, but these and similar techniques are not able to transform reality. One of the reasons for this incapacity is that cultural action for "domestication" is preoccupied with adjusting men to reality. Cultural action for freedom, however, through dialogue presupposes actors who, influenced or determined by the reality in which they act, seek to know the reality in order to transform it and thus bring about man's liberation. Cultural action for "domestication" is anti-dialogical and implies actors who exercise their action upon "spectators" thus maintaining the *status quo* and preserving the social order of domination.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁴Freire, "The Real Meaning of Cultural Action," p. 5.

The participants in the process of cultural action for freedom become involved in the unveiling of reality, in its de-mythification, and in the denunciation of its dehumanizing structures. In this act of knowing the subjects must participate in the developing of the "curriculum" by which they will come to know the knowable object. The educator alone cannot by himself create the "curriculum." It is at this point that the actors have as their point of departure, the investigation of what Freire calls "generative themes," mentioned previously. This investigation of the "generative themes" of the educatees results in the knowledge of the reality perception levels of the educatees and begins the dialogicity of cultural action for freedom. This investigation initiates a real act of knowing which is characteristic of this type of action. By investigating these generative themes, the actors begin the act of unveiling reality. As the investigation continues, the actors continually extend and expand the unveiling initiated in the investigation. New themes result which render themselves to new reflective action. In this process cultural action is realized as a praxis which one performs and "re-performs" constantly.¹⁰⁵

Cultural Action and Cultural Revolution

Dialogue cannot exist in the absence of a profound love for the world and for men. The naming of the world is possible only if it

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

is infused with love, which serves as the foundation of dialogue. Because of its creative and liberating nature, even the revolution must be viewed as an act of love. Even Che Guevara admitted:

Let me say, with the risk of appearing ridiculous, that the true revolutionary is guided by strong feelings of love. It is impossible to think of an authentic revolutionary without this quality.¹⁰⁶

Love is an act of courage; love is commitment to other men and to the cause of their liberation. And this commitment, because it is loving, is dialogical. It is necessary to love the world, life, and men to be able to enter into dialogue.

Dialogue also requires humility and an intense faith in man and in his power to create and re-create. We must have faith in man's vocation to be more fully human. The "dialogical man" believes in other men even before he meets them face to face.

Dialogue founds itself not only upon love, humility, and faith, but upon hope and upon a spirit of critical thinking which perceives reality as process, as transformation, rather than as a static entity. Only dialogue, which requires critical thinking, is also capable of generating critical thinking. Without dialogue there is no communication, and without communication, there can be no true education.

It might seem possible for revolution to be the result of dialogue between two opposing groups such as the Left and Right in

¹⁰⁶ John Gerassi (ed.), *Venceremos--The Speeches and Writings of Che Guevara* (New York: Macmillan, 1969), p. 398.

Latin America, for example. One difficulty in this type of cooperative dialogue is that the praxis of the two opposing camps is different. For Freire, the difference between the two groups stems from the utopic nature of the revolutionary groups and the impossibility of the Right to be utopic. This distinction affects the objectives and forms of action taken by the revolutionary and rightest groups. In order that revolutionary leadership may denounce an unjust reality and proclaim a "pre-project," that leadership must know reality and must have a draft project which may become a viable project in praxis. It is also necessary that this revolutionary leadership know reality by relying on the people as well as on objective facts for the source of its knowledge. There must be confidence that the masses too are capable of knowing the future. In this truly revolutionary process, revolutionary projects are possible as the people assume the role of subjects in the precarious adventure of transforming and recreating the world. In this transformation and re-creation, the revolutionary utopia tends to have the following characteristics:

. . . tends to be dynamic rather than static; tends to life rather than death; to the future as a challenge to man's creativity rather than as a repetition of the present; to love as liberation of subjects rather than as pathological possessiveness; to the emotion of life rather than cold abstractions; to living together in harmony rather than gregariousness; to dialogue rather than mutism; to praxis rather than 'law and order'; to men who organize themselves reflectively for action rather than men who are organized for passivity; to creative and communicative language rather than prescriptive signals; to reflective challenges rather than domesticating slogans; and to values which are lived rather than myths which are imposed.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁷Freire, "Cultural Action and Conscientization," pp. 468-69.

On the other hand, it is Freire's contention that the right has other preferences:

The Right in its rigidity prefers the dead to the living; the static to the dynamic; the future as a repetition of the past rather than as a creative venture; pathological forms of love rather than real love; frigid schematization rather than the emotion of living; gregariousness rather than authentic living together; organization men rather than men who organize; imposed myths rather than incarnated values; directives rather than creative and communicative language; and slogans rather than challenges.¹⁰⁸

Revolutionaries must witness more and more, says Freire, to the radical differences which separate them from the rightest elements. Revolutionaries must have a deep respect for the people and a fundamental commitment to them. The revolutionary projects selected by those who oppose the Right must be projects which are engaged in a struggle against oppressive and dehumanizing structures. Revolutionaries must suit their action to historical conditions and take advantage of the real possibilities which exist. They must help the people move from the levels of "semi-intransitive" or "naive-transitive" consciousness to the level of critical consciousness, realizing that the revolution is a critical process which is able to transform the world. Returning once again to the concept of dialogue, it is possible to say that it is the world in transformation which is the mediator of the dialogue between the people. By this process the conscientized person will be inserted into a demythological reality. Cultural action characterized by dialogue has as its preeminent

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 469.

purpose the conscientizing of the people through the unveiling of reality and the exposure of myths. Thus people are able to grasp with their minds the truth of their reality through the development of a critical consciousness, brought about through praxis, the authentic union of action and reflection. As the revolutionary process continues, there is a need for continual conscientization so that cultural myths may be ejected, as a force to counter bureaucracy, and as a defense against the potential mythification of the technology which the new society requires to transform its backward infrastructures. Conscientization can help prevent the deification of technology while allowing technology to be one of the priorities of the revolutionary project. In this view, technology becomes nothing more nor less than a natural phase of the creative process which has engaged man from his early beginnings.

Cultural action and cultural freedom are distinct moments in the revolutionary process. Cultural action for freedom is carried out in opposition to the dominating, oppressive power elite, while cultural revolution takes place in harmony with the revolutionary regime. Cultural revolutionary activity proposes freedom as its goal. Cultural action for "domestication," on the other hand, can be a strategy for domination and thus will never become cultural revolution. Both cultural action for freedom and cultural revolution are efforts to negate the dominating culture culturally. Even the new cultural reality is subject continually to negation in favor of the increasing affirmation of men and their humanization.

IMPLICATIONS OF FREIRE'S THEORY FOR THE THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION OF THE OPPRESSED

What is Freire's "word" to the Church, especially relating to its educative role? If the schools are instruments of social control, what about the churches?

The Role of the Church

It is Freire's feeling that the real role of the Church should "not be the role of mythologizing, the role of domestication, or the role of developing the bureaucracy of faith."¹⁰⁹ In a few words, the role of the church must be the role of liberation, of the humanization of man. In order to listen to the Word of God, we must be engaged in the process of liberation. Freire states:

. . . I think that theology . . . should be connected with education for liberation--and education for liberation with theology.

Finally, I think that our task as Christians cannot be a paternalistic one. That is, I cannot be author of your salvation. I cannot leave my home in order to look for sinners to save them. I have to live as a man among men!--discussing, acting, transforming, creating--and in all the dimensions of my life, my existence. I can find the presence of God, but the presence of God does not mean the imposition of God. God is a presence--nevertheless, this presence does not prevent myself from making history of the liberation of man.¹¹⁰

The liberation of man is possible when attempts are made to change, not only man, but the world in which he lives. If the status quo is

¹⁰⁹"Education for Awareness: A Talk with Paulo Freire," p. 16.

¹¹⁰*Ibid.*, p. 17.

preserved, oppressed peoples will be prevented from being fully human.

To change the status quo does not mean that the Church should become involved in games of the power elites, nor that she should be paternalistic in her support of certain projects, for example. Rather, the Church must work with men to transform the social reality that blocks the oppressed from being fully human. This means undertaking loving action, inviting people to "tear away the veils that hide the facts," and reveal the true causes of their misery and oppression, so that through conscientization they may cease seeing reality ingenuously. The Church must do her part to see that the true humanization of man takes place in external history by changing that objective reality that keeps man from being humanized.¹¹¹

Freire's first requirement for knowing how to hear the Word of God (and not only hearing it but putting it into practice) is a willingness to dedicate oneself to the liberation of man. This process requires an historical commitment and a transforming activity that will embolden us to challenge the powerful of the earth. The Word of God is inviting us to re-create the world, not for our brothers' domination, but for their liberation. Freire states:

I am not really able to hear that Word, then, unless I am fired up to live it fully. Listening to the Word of God does not mean acting like empty vessels waiting to be filled with that Word. The Word of God is not some contents to be poured into us as if we were mere static recipients for it. And because it saves, that Word also liberates, but men have to accept it historically. They must make themselves subjects, agents of their salvation and liberation.¹¹²

¹¹¹ Paulo Freire, "Letter to a Young Theology Student," (Washington: LADOC, 1972), p. 1.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, p. 2.

It is Freire's conviction that only in the Third World (not in the geographic sense, but in the sense of the world that is dominated, dependent, voiceless) is one able to hear the Word of God. The First World can only hear the Word if it undergoes an Easter, dying as First World and being reborn as Third World. A utopian theology that is a theology of denouncing and announcing, hope and prophecy, can only emerge from the Third World.¹¹³ This utopian and prophetic theology would lead naturally to a cultural action for liberation and thus to conscientization.

Liberating Theology

It is Freire's view that theology has a vital function to perform. In order to fulfill this task, the theologian should take, as the starting point in his reflections, a history of man. What about theological training? Freire's answer:

Theological training should be one kind of cultural action for liberation, in which man gets rid of his ingenuous concept of God (it is a myth that alienates him) and gets a new notion of Him in which God, as a Presence in history, does not in the slightest keep man from 'making history'--the history of his liberation.¹¹⁴

Seminaries should try to be voices which promote broader transformations in society. They should be "utopian centers" which denounce

¹¹³*Ibid.* "A theology that serves the bourgeoisie cannot be utopian and prophetic and hopeful. On the contrary, that sort of theology would create a passive, adjusted man waiting for a better life in the hereafter. It would dichotomize the world."

¹¹⁴*Ibid.*

dehumanizing structures and announce new *structures* which are to come, in which men can "be more, can love, smile, sing, create, and re-create."¹¹⁵ Only in this way does Freire feel that seminaries will be prophetic and speak authentically of hope.

What is called for is a theology of hope or a theology of liberating hope. Christians must not become inactive or attempt to be neutral when men are being prevented from being before our very eyes. What hope is there, asks Freire, in passivity, in accommodation, in making compromises? It is possible to wait only if one is struggling and seeking with hope.¹¹⁶ Salvation, for Freire, has to be achieved, if it is to be hoped for. To accept the status quo while doing nothing is to make oneself an accomplice of injustice, of un-love, and of the exploitation of men in the world. Freire states:

I cannot accept any immobilism that would exclude the profound utopian and prophetic thrust of the Christian message, a message that seals us as travelers, opposed to fixity, to the act of halting that Christ denounced.¹¹⁷

What is needed today, according to Freire, is a theological rebirth which could be the result of the movings in the utopian and prophetic Third World and from the theologians of that world, who are challenged

¹¹⁵ Paulo Freire, "Third World and Theology," based on correspondence between Paulo Freire and Rogerio de Almeida Cunha (LADOC, 1972), p. 1.

¹¹⁶ Theology in which hope waits but does not search is alienating because it presumes that the average man abdicates his praxis (reflection-action) in this world. Hope would be equated with passivity. The definition of man as one who transforms would be denied.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*

by Freire:

This, it seems to me, must be the primary concern for the theologians of the Third World: to be men of that World. To steep themselves in that Third World, so they can belong to it as utopian, prophetic and hopeful persons. But being a man of the Third World also means repudiating the power structures, the establishments that represent the world of domination. It means siding with the oppressed, with the condemned of the earth, in a posture of authentic love that cannot possibly straddle both camps: those who oppress, crush, exploit and kill, and those who are oppressed, crushed, exploited and menaced with death. It is time now for Christians to distinguish that so obvious thing, love, from its pathological variants: sadism, or masochism, or both together. For the contrary of love is not, as people often or even usually think, hatred, but fear of loving; and fear of loving is fear of being free. The greatest, in fact the only proof of true love that the oppressed can show their oppressors is not to bend, masochistically, to their oppression, but to take away from them, radically, those objective conditions that make it possible for them to oppress. Only in that way can the oppressors be humanized. And this loving task, which is both political and revolutionary, devolves on the oppressed themselves. Oppressors, the oppressing class, can never liberate others, not can they liberate themselves either. Only the weakness of the oppressed is strong enough to do that.¹¹⁸

CONCLUSION

Gustavo Gutierrez in "Notes for a Theology of Liberation," states that the liberation of Latin America calls for more than just overcoming economic, social, and political dependence. It means also seeing that humanity is "marching toward a society in which man will be free of every servitude and master of his own destiny."¹¹⁹ According to Gutierrez, the most creative and fertile possibility in the

¹¹⁸*Ibid.*, p. 2.

¹¹⁹Gustavo Gutierrez, "Notes for a Theology of Liberation," *Theological Studies*, XXXI (June 1970), p. 250.

field of education in Latin America is the experiences and works of Paulo Freire and his "pedagogy of the oppressed."¹²⁰ John W. Donohue feels that Freire is one of the two or three Catholic Christians since the Renaissance to have achieved a sizable and non-parochial reputation as an educational pioneer.¹²¹

The method of Paulo Freire is fundamentally a method of popular science: a level of conscience and politics. While it does not absorb the political aspect in the pedagogy, neither does it view education and politics as enemies. Rather, in the unity of the same movement that man learns about history and searches to encounter it, he also searches to be free. True education is that which frees the conscience to see clearly the contradictions of humanity, whether these be structures, super-structures or infra-structures. A pedagogical method of consciousness reaches for the last "frontiers of humanity," as Freire calls them, and urges man to exceed them. This theory does not allow the dominators to maintain a monopoly on the right to say a word. Rather, it frees the dominated to continue their struggle to "speak the word" and thus "name the world," transforming it.

Freire's understanding of education combines an unbounded confidence in man's potentialities with an incisively realistic assessment of the power of institutions. More than that, it provides a methodology by which men can reshape their perceptions of their

¹²⁰*Ibid.*

¹²¹Donohue, *op. cit.*, p. 167.

humanness and, because of this shift in perspective, can recreate their world. This results as they recognize themselves as challenged by the totality of life experiences. The response to this challenge can be in the direction of submission, adaptation, or/and manipulation, or in the direction of critical reflection, transformation, and dialogue.

To the degree, then, that education fosters submission, adaptation, and manipulation, it is a tool for dehumanization. Conversely, only an education which specifically leads to critical reflection, transformation, and dialogue is an authentic tool for humanization. How one thinks about education, then, ultimately reveals what one thinks of man.

The discussion-group pattern is relatively new in Brazil but not in the United States. The concern with starting with concrete human situations in educational practice certainly is not new. Perhaps the new dimension which Freire adds to this pattern is a philosophical anthropology, a view of man as creator as well as carrier of culture. This means that the dialogue is not merely an exchange of views with one another, or an effort to become more open to other positions, but an opportunity to clarify one's own level of perception, to make it an object of examination, to break through the boundaries of one's position, each time to a new awareness. This means that the examination of the concrete situation is not merely a mechanism to induce a predetermined desirable change in behavior, but an authentic grappling with the reality of one's experience and the myths that

shape that experience.

Freire's adult literacy process is based upon authentic dialogue between teachers and learners. The introduction to Freire's articles in the *Harvard Educational Review* summarizes this dialogical approach as follows:

Such dialogue, in Freire's approach, centers upon codified representations of the learner's existential situation and leads not only to their acquisition of literacy skills, but more importantly to their awareness of their right and capacity as human beings to transform reality. Becoming literate, then, means far more than learning to decode the written representation of a sound system. It is truly an act of knowing, through which a person is able to look critically at the culture which has shaped him, and to move toward reflection and positive action upon his world.¹²²

. . . Such dialogue in Freire's view is cultural action for freedom, through authentic dialogue rather than for domestication. In this concluding section, the author proceeds to consider the philosophical basis and the social context of his own thought. With specific reference to Latin America, he discusses the emergence of the masses into the political process in the Third World and analyzes the level of consciousness which characterize that emergence. Finally he discusses the nature and function of a truly liberating education in this period of historical transition.¹²³

¹²²Freire, "The Adult Literacy Process . . . ," p. 205.

¹²³Freire, "Cultural Action and Conscientization," p. 452.

CHAPTER VI

EVALUATION OF FREIRE'S EDUCATIONAL PHILOSOPHY WITH A PROPOSED ORGANIZATIONAL FRAMEWORK

Ivan Illich calls Freire's approach a "truly revolutionary pedagogy." Richard Shaul's foreword in *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* is quite complementary to Freire. It is Shaul's view that Freire's educational philosophy is as important for people in the United States as it is for illiterate adults in the Third World.¹

Their struggle to become free Subjects and to participate in the transformation of their society is similar, in many ways, to the struggle not only of blacks and Mexican-Americans but also of middle-class young people in this country.²

Shaul goes so far as to conclude that the development of an educational methodology which facilitates the "practice of freedom"³ will lead to tension and conflict, but it "could also contribute to the formation of a new man and mark the beginning of a new era in Western history."⁴

P. Furter, who knew Freire well in South America, evaluates

¹ Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (New York: Herder and Herder, 1968), p. 10.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*, p. 15. The "practice of freedom" is the means "by which men and women deal critically and creatively with reality and discover how to participate in the transformation of their world."

⁴ *Ibid.*

Freire in the following manner:

For me, the genius of Paulo Freire consists essentially in what he has dared to say: the program of what is to be learned should not be determined by the teacher, but by the students. An authentic literacy program is not to be found in the theories of professors, but in the authentic needs of the illiterate.⁵

This observation relates to Freire's insistence that it is necessary that an educational process nourish the deep needs that slumber in each person in order that the individual may live a fuller life and be an active subject of history rather than merely its passive object. Here Freire may be echoing one of Jesus' teachings: "Father, I thank you for having hidden these things from the wise and prudent and revealed them to the little ones." For Freire, truth is to be found, not so much in the hearts of wise and prudent teachers, as in the lives of those who are poor.

EVALUATION OF FREIRE'S PHILOSOPHY AND METHOD

John Donohue calls Freire "one of the two or three Catholic Christians since the Renaissance to have achieved a sizable and non-parochial reputation as an educational pioneer."⁶ He describes *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* as "a revolutionary design for an ideal world."⁷ Jonathan Kozol, currently the chief spokesman for the free

⁵Pierre Furter, *La Vie Morale de l'Adolescent* (Paris: Delachaux & Niestle, 1965), p. 30.

⁶John Donohue, "Paulo Freire: Philosopher of Adult Education," *America*, CXXVII (September 16, 1972), 167.

⁷*Ibid.*

school movement, calls Freire's philosophy a brilliant methodology of a highly charged and politically provocative character. Everett Reimer's evaluation is entirely positive.⁸ The same is true of others such as Miriam Clasby,⁹ L. Broz,¹⁰ Maria Ernani Fiori,¹¹ and Gary MacEoin.¹² In fact, it is very difficult to find anyone who has criticized Freire. However, it does seem that there are several areas in which Freire is open to criticism.

Criticisms of Freire's Educational Philosophy

Those who hold that reality is *being* rather than *becoming*, have criticized Freire's position which views the man-world relationship as one in which both are in a constant state of becoming. Freire does not accept that action based on a static world-view is something done to men and that the object is adjustment to the world as it is. Such action constantly mythifies reality, in Freire's view, and conditions men to adapt to existing structures and definitions. The

⁸ Everett Reimer, "Does the Shoe Fit? A Background Piece on the 'Silent Majority,'" *America*, CXXIV (January 23, 1971), 69-70.

⁹ Miriam Clasby, "Education as a Tool for Humanization and the Word of Paulo Freire," *Living Light*, VIII (Spring 1971), 48-59.

¹⁰ L. Broz, "Subversive Education of Paulo Freire," *Communio Viatorum*, XIV:4 (1971), 285-289.

¹¹ Maria Ernani Fiori, "Aprender a decir su palabra: el metodo de alfabetizacion del profesor Paulo Freire," *Cristianismo y sociedad, suplemento: Contribucion al proceso de concientizacion en America Latina* (1968), 95-103.

¹² Gary MacEoin, "The Freire Method: Conscientization for the Masses," *National Catholic Reporter*, VIII:20 (March 17, 1972), 1, 21.

world, for Freire, is becoming. As the context in which man finds himself, the world in which man acts and from which he draws his perceptions, is unfinished. Reality is not a given, waiting to be perceived. Rather man acts within real situations to constantly transform his world, and man, in turn, is also transformed. The "culture" which man creates in turn creates him, shaping his perceptions and responses.

Another criticism of Freire which has been expressed by several authors was raised by Gary MacEoin of the National Catholic Reporter. He asked Freire if Freire could mention even one instance in which peasants have broken out of their oppression, even at a local level. Freire was not able to mention even one.¹³ In the interview Freire mentioned President Julius Nyerere as a man who is fully committed to the peasants, "but he has a lot of very bourgeois people around him," said Freire. However, Freire did feel that there is real hope in Chile¹⁴ where both lower and middle classes are being conscientized, and are working together in certain situations.

Groups of Protestants and Catholics reporting in Cuernavaca have criticized Freire's rather rigid method of selecting the "generative words," and have had rather interesting results using a slightly

¹³*Ibid.*, 21.

¹⁴MacEoin feels that Freire was primarily responsible for much of the grassroots political awakening in that country. Freire continues to think of Chile as his spiritual home and he hopes to return soon. Freire fears he will become a theorist in Switzerland and feels the need for continual practical experience.

altered method. Freire has stated that the liberator cannot begin with "his" words as the generative words, but, on the contrary, with the words of the people with whom he or she is working. In other words, we start, not with our own words, but with their words. But these groups reported that they have been starting the process of literacy without the investigation, without discovering the words of the people before beginning a process of literacy. Their procedure was to show the first picture and tape the discussion based on the views expressed concerning the relationships between man and reality. Then they took the first generative words from the people. And the second day they discussed the first generative word without knowing the second. In the discussion of the first generative word, they captured the second word and so on.¹⁵ When told of this alteration, Freire, of course, approved of it and was excited by it.

Pierre Furter has observed that it is not really appropriate to speak of Freire's "method," but rather of a "coherent series of provocative ideas."¹⁶ It is Furter's feeling that Freire is a "speaker," and that his writings retain only the outline of his thoughts. He is a "practitioner who thinks . . . and makes others think."¹⁷ Since Freire's work is still in progress, Furter feels that

¹⁵"Education for Awareness: A Talk with Paulo Freire," *Risk*, VI:4 (1970), 13.

¹⁶Pierre Furter, "An Introduction to the Work of Paulo Freire," (Cuernavaca, Mexico: CIDOC), December 27, 1970.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, p. 1.

it is somewhat difficult to adequately evaluate his philosophy. For example, Furter observes that Freire is still trying to find a methodology which will permit the construction of a system of permanent education. In concluding his brief statement, Furter asks the following questions:

1. As regards the awakening of consciousness, a *petitio principii*, or if you like, faith (Christian?) is part of the individual's potential. Is this true of every human condition?
2. In the long run, who arouses consciousness with whom?
3. In the concept of a liberating education are there not traces of a liberating education too dependent on spontaneity?
4. Is sufficient thought given to the resistance of existing structures? Should not a liberating education be completed by institutional teaching?
5. What is the significance of the increasing number of difficulties encountered by Paulo Freire and his colleagues in setting up permanent education?¹⁸

Freire's method was criticized in Chile because it was felt that the coordinators did not themselves achieve a sufficient change from their former paternalistic attitudes to internalize the spirit of the method. It was felt that the coordinators tended to dominate the situation too much.¹⁹ Waldemar Cortes, director of the Department of Special Planning for Education of Adults in Chile, admitted that this was a problem, but he was one of Freire's staunchest defenders.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, p. 3.

¹⁹Thomas G. Sanders, "The Paulo Freire Method: Literacy Training and Conscientization," *West Coast South America Series* (Chile), XV:1 (January 1968), 1-15.

Freire, when told of the difficulty, admitted that this factor has been a problem for some time, and that he was not sure how to overcome it. Nevertheless, the Paulo Freire method is used in Chile in many governmental programs of literacy training. Cortes thinks that his Department has improved the method since the program's hasty beginning in Chile. Freire himself believes that the method requires frankness in eliminating those who do not have the right mentality, and periodic reviews and restraining of coordinators through careful supervision and seminars.²⁰

In Latin America, Freire has been accused of raising messianic expectations with his method, especially with the word conscientization, as if it were *the* solution, *the* way to revolution in the Third World. Freire, however, is aware of this danger; he knows that both the word "conscientization" and his book *The Pedagogy of the Oppressed* have become myths which need to be demythified.

Others are skeptical about the effectiveness of Freire's illiteracy campaigns as instruments for change. They are puzzled that so much stress is laid on the promotion of literacy. Freire answers this criticism by reminding the critics that literacy campaigns are just one aspect of Freire's insights and method, but he does admit that adult literacy alone will not free people.

Freire has been criticized for working with the World Council of Churches, "living in the belly of the beast." Freire admits that

²⁰ In 1968 Chile received an award from UNESCO as one of the five nations which is most effectively overcoming the problem of illiteracy.

the World Council isn't the vanguard of the revolution, but he states that he cannot be in Brazil, and to work for a university is to work for the establishment also. He does not feel restricted by the World Council, but he does admit that it is a contradiction for him to work there.

Another criticism which has been aired occasionally is that Freire states that education is a shared process, but he leaves little time for sharing. Freire blames this on the fact that he has been asked to lecture frequently to groups which are too large for proper dialogue. When he works with small groups, however, he is sometimes criticized for saying too little.

Students frequently ask Freire if his method is not politically irresponsible, since it does not take into account possible violent reaction by the forces of repression. They ask why he has written so little about violence. Why does he give so much attention to overthrowing structures of oppression and so little to the creation of structures of liberation, and to the means for creating them. Freire admits that though he offers concrete programs for concrete situations, he still must reflect more on the political and strategical follow-ups for his method.²¹ He has stated the following on violence:

Violence is initiated by those who oppress, who exploit, who fail to recognize others as persons--not by those who are oppressed, exploited and unrecognized. . . . And yet, paradoxical though it may seem, it is precisely in the response of the oppressed to the violence of their oppressors that a gesture of love may be found. Consciously or unconsciously,

²¹Freire, *op. cit.*, pp. 41-42.

the act of rebellion by the oppressed (an act that is always, or nearly always, just as violent as the initial violence of the oppressors) can lead to love. . . . As the oppressed, fighting to be human, take away the oppressors' power to dominate, they restore to the oppressors the humanity these latter had lost in the exercise of oppression.²²

The fact that Freire admires Che Guevara and Camilo Torres, and his quotes of Fanon and Mao, show that he does not ignore the possibility of revolutionary violence. But he feels that true revolutionaries love people and life and should use violence sparingly.

He has been criticized for being more of a politician than an educator. His response is that he cannot separate his profession from his political identity. Therefore, he is *becoming* an educator with a political identity. It has been observed that his reputation is possibly based on his exile. If he were still in Brazil, he might be another religious, middle-class reformer teaching adult literacy. His response is that, if he were still in Brazil, he might be selling bananas. He knows that he is considered a bourgeois by some, and a reactionary by others, and a revolutionary by still others. Some criticize Freire's global perspective as being nothing but stale rhetoric from a political and ideological theoretician, an educator who is not concrete and specific in what he says. Freire answers that he is not a factory for solutions to problems, nor one who can teach others how to liberate themselves, or give "pills" to change attitudes. He reminds anxious students that it is necessary to assume a humble

²² Paulo Freire, "Cultural Action and Conscientization," *Harvard Educational Review*, XL:3 (August 1970), 473.

attitude in the face of the world's enormous problems today. It is not enough to learn formulas and apply them. Since liberation is a political question, the taking of power is implied and the changing of structures. This can be a very slow process.

It is precisely the slowness of Freire's method that is the concern of some, especially those in Third World countries who are looking for rapid solutions to seemingly impossible situations. Lengthy investigation, the avoidance of manipulation, surveys of words and themes, etc., take too long and are not really a substitute for revolution. Freire responds by saying that some revolutions have ended with a mere change of masters. Others have degenerated into authoritarian state bureaucracies. Even in the case of Cuba, Freire emphasizes that the majority lag behind in revolutionary fervor because of the long history of their oppression.²³ It is necessary to choose between rapid, revolutionary change with its accompanying difficulties, says Freire, or choose the slow path of cultural revolution and accept the delays and sufferings of a long process of change in consciousness, while simultaneously working to modify social structures. Since one cannot wait for ideal conditions, it is necessary that one do what is possible. Cultural action for freedom is possible under favorable situations, while only limited revolutionary projects are possible under repressive regimes.²⁴

²³ Paulo Freire, *La educación como práctica de la libertad* (Montevideo: Tierra Nueva, 1969), p. 62.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

Some have criticized not only Freire, but education in general as a viable means for revolution. Since education in many Third World countries is an instrument of the establishment used for domestication, they see little hope for radical changes through education. Freire, however, is intent on finding a new and liberating pedagogy which will accomplish the necessary changes so that the masses may become liberated.

Freire's Contributions to Educational Theory

It is rather difficult to summarize Freire's contributions to educational theory, but it might be helpful to mention at least a few of the ways Freire has stimulated thinking. Leftists and revolutionaries, for example, are constantly being reminded of their manipulative techniques, as Freire suggests strenuous demands which they must meet. Freire has pointed out the difficulty in educating without being manipulative. Even in his own method, he admits that a subtle selectivity by the investigators often prods students to view reality in a certain way. Freire has also demonstrated the ambiguity of language, including the language of liberation, and the language of oppressed people. He constantly demonstrates the need for defining terms more precisely in the language and cultural situation of the oppressed.

Another of Freire's contributions to educational theory, at least in Latin America where this principle is not as widely used as in the United States, is his emphasis on participatory democracy in which critical consciousness is the result of the demythologizing of

reality. It is Freire's opinion that democratic debate must be combined with technical expertise in order that the complex problems of society may be solved. Technology and industrialization alone are not able to liberate the masses. Human projects must be built upon democratic aspirations and must involve the participation of all those affected by those projects, oppressed and oppressors. Freire's emphasis on man's freedom, which is achieved through the pursuit of liberation from injustice and oppression, is vitally important for education. Freire has demonstrated how the oppressed may view their reality, see themselves as Subjects within that reality, and find ways to transform the world in order that both themselves and the world may be humanized. Freire provides an understanding of how a critical consciousness reflected in a critical praxis can guide toward liberation. His approach provides education with openness to the future, a future full of risks, but a future in which both oppressed and oppressors may dialogue and work for the full liberation of both.

Freire's educational philosophy is one way to understand liberation as the pursuit of a freedom that is inseparable from the pursuit of justice. He shows how the problems of the oppressed may be confronted without losing the battle for humanization. He demonstrates how critical consciousness can develop amid the tremendous pressures faced by the oppressed. His method is one in which cultural action is for freedom and liberation rather than domestication. His method makes literacy training a critical, active process through which habits of resignation are overcome, as participants try to

understand existence in an oppressive society. Freire emphasizes the equality of all men, their right to knowledge and culture, and their right to criticize their situation and act upon it. He stresses faith in the capacity of even the illiterate to achieve a reflective outlook through self-discovery and dialogue. He offers a method and a philosophy which combine the participation of the masses and the means for a decisive restructuring of society, without paternalism, manipulation, or the interference of outside ideologies. This approach, if taken seriously, can be useful in the improvement of any educational system, especially adult theological education among the Protestant laity in Chile.

AN ORGANIZATIONAL FRAMEWORK FOR THE APPLICATION OF FREIRE'S METHOD: THE METHODIST CLASS MEETING

It seems to me that Freire's educational philosophy stands up well under criticism and is particularly suited to the educational needs of the Protestant Church of Chile. An organizational framework for the application of Freire's method in the Protestant churches in Chile may well be one that is used widely by many of the Pentecostal churches there: the Methodist class meeting. This is a method which is both historical in the sense that it was used by Wesley and indigenous to the Protestant Church of Chile. The Methodist class meeting is important for lay training in Chile because of several significant parallels with Freire's approach, and because it may be developed into an effective vehicle for his method.

The following is a brief attempt to discuss the origin and early development of the Methodist class meeting, and relate this historical expression of the class meeting with the class structure used by Methodist and many Pentecostal churches in Chile, and to indicate a possible relationship between the class meeting and the approach used by Freire.

My thesis is that a return to an organizational structure such as that used by the early Methodists in their class meetings may bring renewal and vitality to theological education in Chile. In order that we may understand the origin of the class meeting, we must understand something of the development of societies and bands under Wesley.

Early Methodism had a threefold plan of organization: (1) the society, which consisted of all members who met and worshiped together; (2) the class, which was composed of about a dozen society members, under a class leader, which received financial contributions and had weekly meetings for testimony, religious experience, and discipline; and (3) the band, which was a smaller group of the same sex and marital status formed for similar purposes.²⁵ The bands and societies did fulfill a purpose, but they did not provide fellowship for the great majority of the people. It was only when the idea of the class meeting was advanced in 1742 that "Methodism had its family hearth round which all could gather, whether they were beginners or veterans, and feel

²⁵Elmer T. Clark, *An Album of Methodist History* (Nashville: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1952), p. 70.

themselves at home, their father's welcome guests."²⁶

The members of the bands were people whose spiritual experience was more advanced than the ordinary members of the United Societies. Those who were members of "select societies" had reached a still more advanced stage, although this term did not convey either a sense of superiority or a sense of exclusiveness. These bands were composed of members of the same sex, and met for intimate, personal, mutual confession and counsel. The members of the bands had received justification and were making some advance in the Christian life. These bands were created on the model of the Moravian groups John Wesley had known in Georgia, and later in the Religious Society which met in Fetter Lane, London. John and Charles Wesley met with these bands in an effort to aid the people in the deepening of their spiritual experience. As the bands grew in number it became difficult for John and Charles Wesley to give them adequate oversight. Therefore, at the end of 1738 John Wesley drew up a list of rules which contained eleven questions to be answered by those who were seeking membership, and five others to be asked at every weekly meeting. These five questions dealt with known sins committed since the last meeting, temptations faced, the method of deliverance, and the doubts experienced since the last meeting.

Select bands or select societies were composed of those who were pressing on to perfection. These select bands existed only in

²⁶Leslie F. Church, *The Early Methodist People* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1949), p. 153.

the larger cities, since their membership was held by a select few. Wesley met with these members to advise them in perplexing matters and to receive advice from them concerning matters of discipline. Apparently select bands were earlier called "select societies," for this is the term used in the minutes of the first Conference (1744) of a grouping which had the same rules and functions.

The bands with their severe "Rules" seemed to a later generation more artificial and the questions an encroachment on individual freedom. Wesley's Oxford Club could allow its members to reveal intimacies because it was composed of a picked group of friends of long familiarity with one another. The members of the bands, however, had many varieties of spiritual histories. The bands soon yielded to the warmer and more intimate fellowship of the class meetings, which were less severe. The writing of the set of rules for the bands in 1738 was therefore followed in a few years by the origin of the class meeting.

The Origin of the Class Meeting

The date of the origin of the class meeting is Monday, February 15, 1742.²⁷ Several events prior to this date should be mentioned to complete the historical view. The first society was organized in

²⁷ John S. Simon, *John Wesley and the Methodist Societies* (London: Epworth Press, 1923), p. 63. A full discussion of this event can be found in O. P. Fitzgerald, *The Class Meeting* (Nashville: Publishing House of M. E. Church, South, 1918), pp. 32-41. Another excellent source is in L. Tyerman, *The Life and Times of John Wesley* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1870), I, 378-382.

Fetter Lane a few weeks before the Wesleys experienced their spiritual awakening in 1738.²⁸ John Wesley led his followers out of this Fetter Lane group in 1740 and reformed the society at the Foundry.²⁹ On May 9, 1739, within five weeks of his first open-air service, Wesley purchased some land in Bristol for the first Methodist meeting house, which was to be a place for both Christian fellowship and instruction.³⁰ Wesley felt that his evangelism should not leave the converts without guidance and oversight. Not only did Wesley not believe in solitary religion, but he knew that outdoor preaching would be difficult in England during the winter months.

In the spring of 1739, Wesley found three women in Bristol who were meeting weekly for religious fellowship, and soon afterwards he found four young men who agreed to meet together in the same way. These were the first Methodist classes, though they did not bear that name.³¹ Wesley consolidated his work in Bristol by splitting up the membership into classes, each with its own leader. The United Society

²⁸Clark, *op. cit.*, pp. 75-78. A more complete discussion can be found in Halford E. Luccock, and Paul Hutchinson, *The Story of Methodism* (New York: Methodist Book Concern, 1926), pp. 74-76.

²⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 75-78. Wesley's own account of this event can be found in John Wesley, *The Works of Rev. John Wesley* (London: Mason, 1840), I, 265.

³⁰Paul Neff Garber, *The Methodist Meeting House* (New York: Board of Missions and Church Extension, the Methodist Church, 1941), pp. 11-13. Wesley's account of this purchase can be found in Wesley, *The Works of Rev. John Wesley* (1840), I, 181.

³¹Ingvar Haddal, *John Wesley, A Biography* (New York: Abingdon Press, 1961), p. 99.

in Bristol was formed in October, 1739, and in London in December, 1739. The United Society in London was formed in the later part of the year 1739, as eight or ten people came to Wesley, convinced of sin and earnestly desiring redemption. Wesley set aside Thursday evening to meet with them. This society at the Foundry was the first society under the direct control of Wesley. These Methodists were joined by the Methodist converts who had been attending at Fetter Lane. About seventy-two members of Fetter Lane joined the society at the Foundry on July 20, 1740. This Foundry was the first Methodist meetinghouse in London and the second in the world. The third Methodist center, following Bristol and London, was at Newcastle-on-Tyne, where Wesley established his Orphan House in 1742. The oldest Methodist shrine in the world is the small building at Bristol, known after remodeling as the New Room (built in 1739).³²

In a certain sense, Methodist societies were begun in 1739; but it was not until 1742 that they were divided into classes. In January, 1739, the London society (which was really Moravian) consisted of about sixty persons. Three months after that, Wesley went to Bristol where a few persons agreed to meet weekly. These soon increased to "several little societies." About the same time similar societies were formed at Kingswood and at Bath.³³ These religious communities grew and multiplied, until, at the beginning of 1742, the London

³²Clark, *op. cit.*, pp. 67-73.

³³John Wesley, *The Works of the Rev. John Wesley* (London: Wesleyan Conference Office, 1872), I, 357.

society alone numbered about eleven hundred members.³⁴

On February 15, 1742, an accident led to a momentous alteration. This event deserves our attention. Nearly three years before, Wesley had built his meetinghouse in Bristol, but a large debt was still unpaid. Wesley called together the principal men for consultation. The modest room in the "Horsefair" was ill-built and in need of constant repair. Wesley asked the group to select a "proper method for discharging the public debt."³⁵ One of the group, a Captain Foy, suggested that every member of the society give one penny a week. Another objected, stating that many were poor and could not afford the penny. Captain Foy replied that eleven of the poorest should be under his care; and if any were unable to pay, he would pay their share. He stated that he would call on them weekly, encouraging others to call upon eleven of their neighbors weekly, with the understanding that they would make up the amount that was wanting.

This brief dialogue struck Wesley forcefully. This was the very thing that he had wanted for so long. It was decided that the whole society would be divided into little companies or classes, about twelve in each class. We are fairly sure that Wesley himself suggested the word "class." One person was appointed to collect the pennies and

³⁴ Wesley, *The Works of Rev. John Wesley* (1840), I, 265.

³⁵ Numerous discussions of this famous event may be referred to for details. John S. Simon, *John Wesley and the Methodist Societies* (London: Epworth Press, 1923), p. 63. Also Richard M. Cameron, *The Rise of Methodism: A Source Book* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1954), p. 300; Wesley, *The Works of the Rev. John Wesley* (1872), I, 357.

bring them to the steward weekly. Wesley appointed the "leaders" and assigned a "class" of about eleven or twelve members to each of them. We do not know the exact date when the societies were divided into classes which met weekly, but Wesley in his *Plain Account of the People Called Methodists* states that the time dates back to the period when the watch-nights were introduced, which is 1742.³⁶ We presume that Wesley divided the societies into classes immediately after February 15, 1742.

Wesley saw tremendous possibilities in this system of paying the debt. Here was an opportunity, not merely to pay the debt, but to solve his most pressing problem. These collectors of pennies might become the "sub-pastors" who, by their regular contacts, could do much to guide or comfort or, where necessary, reprove every individual in each society. Wesley saw in these class meetings the potential of Christian fellowship, of spiritual comfort, of mutual edification, and of mutual strength to resist temptation. What a glorious means to establish scriptural holiness in the land, to encourage godliness, to encourage united prayer, to receive the word of exhortation, and to watch over one another in love. Surely the members of these small class meetings could help one another to work out their salvation in fear and trembling. No longer would John and Charles Wesley need to be responsible directly to the members of the large societies, nor

³⁶ Simon, *op. cit.*, pp. 310-312. A discussion of the origin of the class meeting can be found in Wesley, *The Works of Rev. John Wesley* (1840), I, 336.

need the personal touch disappear merely because the societies had grown larger. These classes of not more than a dozen members were ideally conceived for the edification, encouragement, and correction of new converts. New meaning was given by the class meeting to that saying of Ecclesiastes, "Woe to him that is alone, for when he falleth he hath not another to help him up."³⁷ It takes only a little exercise of the sympathetic imagination to see what a world of hope would open to one left alone in the eighteenth century world, simply from knowing that ten other people were vitally interested in him, and that he, in turn, was partially responsible for them. An interesting insight is given by Ingvar Haddal in *John Wesley, A Biography*:

It was not always convenient to hold spiritual conversation in the homes or places of employment of the Methodists, so it was agreed that they should meet the class-leaders in somebody's home, or in some other place where they knew they were welcome. In this way the class-meetings became the focal points of expanding Methodism. It was the class-leaders who gave timely rebuke, instruction, and encouragement. The members confessed to one another their sins and their discoveries.³⁸

Wesley called the leaders of the classes together to inquire of each into the behavior of those visited. Many of those who were talking disorderly were removed. Some turned from the evil of their ways, and others were given closer supervision. Thus was found a plan by which discipline might be maintained, the unworthy admonished or dismissed, and the consistent encouraged.

³⁷Ecc1. 4:10.

³⁸Haddal, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

The Early Development of the Methodist Class Meeting in England

The origin of the class meeting was not planned or devised. The development was. What else could one expect of "an Anglican churchman, a practical Englishman, and one fanatically devoted to a methodical way of life."³⁹ On February 23, 1743, John Wesley set forth the General Rules in his own name, adding the name of Charles on May 1, 1743. The society was defined as "a company of men, having the form and seeking the power of godliness, united in order to pray together, to receive the word of exhortation and to watch over one another in love, that they may help each other to work out their salvation."⁴⁰ Wesley found that he could maintain Christian discipline of life in the fast-growing societies through these classes. The "Rules" had been formulated in response to the needs of discipline, and to meet the need of regulations for leaders who were to be responsible, in turn, for the conduct of their class members. A means had been provided for those who had a "desire to flee from the wrath to come, to be saved from their sins." A society had been created in a century in which denominational lines were political as well as theological. Methodical, regulated associations of seekers after holiness had been formed. A plan for promoting personal religion had been established, with opportunities to receive both churchmen and dissenters alike.

³⁹Martin Schmidt, *John Wesley, A Theological Biography* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1962), I, 232.

⁴⁰John Fletcher Hurst, *John Wesley the Methodist* (New York: Eaton and Mains, 1903), pp. 125-130.

These religious class meetings were open to all--regardless of theology. Certainly Wesley's proposal to disregard the barriers of church and of orthodoxy was in itself a daring venture. As early as 1742, Wesley said, "I am sick of opinions"; and he insisted that the distinguishing marks of a Methodist

are not his opinions of any sort, his assenting to this or that scheme or religion, his embracing any particular set of notions, his espousing the judgment of one man or another.

We cannot in the space allotted discuss the history of the class meeting, nor can we even discuss the history of the class meeting in England alone. We shall attempt in the following pages to discuss only the highlights of the early development of the class meeting.⁴¹ By 1744, the "United Societies" consisted of "awakened persons," while the bands were formed of those who claimed to have received remission of sin. The "Select Societies" mentioned previously were made up of band members "who seemed to walk in the light of God," while the Penitents were those who had made "shipwreck of faith," but were still allowed to remain in a state of probationary fellowship. In 1744 the Rules of the band societies were republished, and "Directions" as to personal conduct were made quite definite.

As one would expect, Wesley began to encounter difficulties soon after the first class meeting in Bristol in 1742 and the revisions in 1743. Although the idea of societies was nothing new in the history of the Church of England, Wesley encountered resistance to his movement.

⁴¹Wesley, *The Works of the Rev. John Wesley* (1872), I, 445-479.

This resistance was lessened by the fact that Wesley, throughout his lifetime, held fast to the idea of Methodists as composing societies loyal to the Church of England, and yet fostering in the societies their own religious life. Wesley's societies were never formally sanctioned by the English Church. Formally Wesley paid honor to the church officials, but he had almost nothing to do with them, practically. The English Church was tolerant, and in that tolerance made possible some of the best developments in the thought and practice of Wesleyanism. This tolerance was aided by the fact that Wesley, while a law unto himself, remained fundamentally loyal to the Church.

Other problems of a more internal nature arose. Complaints were offered concerning the lack of training of the class leaders. Some of the "testimonies" were too intimate. A few complained concerning the use of tickets (a small card given every quarter by the leader to all in good standing), for these tickets were collected if one was absent three consecutive times. Some of Wesley's policies were rather harsh. For example, in some places Wesley removed as many as half of the list of members because he considered them unfit for membership. Now that the meetinghouse at Bristol had been paid for, Wesley needed to find another channel into which to pour the funds. For a while funds were given to the poor, but soon the funds were used to support the lay ministry. Another problem which arose was the proper place of meeting. The leaders no longer were able to go to the homes of the members, so one central location was chosen. Some raised the objection that the class meetings were not scriptural. Wesley's answer was that

the class meetings were not specifically enjoined in scripture, but that they were in accord with the spirit of the New Testament church. Others objected to the class meeting, stating that it was an embarrassment to speak in them. Wesley encouraged those who were embarrassed to meet with the leader in private. And one might go on and on in listing these minor problems, objections, and criticisms.

Yet the class meetings made a major, positive contribution to the early development of Methodism. R. W. Dale said:

Methodism made one striking and original contribution to the institutions of the Church, in the classmeeting. Never, so far as I know, in any Church had there been so near an approach to the idea of pastoral oversight as the classmeeting, in its perfect form, provides; and it also provides for that communion of saints which is almost as necessary for the strength and joy and the harmonious growth of the Christian life as fellowship with God.⁴²

The class meetings served as means to ascertain the religious state and deportment of the members of the societies, with a view to proper performance of pastoral and disciplinary offices. Opportunities were provided for Christian communion and self-examination. The meetings conserved the fruits of personal and corporate revival. Educational training was provided for the layman. The class meeting furnished a test of sincerity and an opportunity to develop spiritually in the midst of others with similar desires. This weekly inspection and stimulus offered one the added strength and help to enable the individual to live in purity and power. The meeting helped expose those with insincere or dishonest motives. The meetings served as a means for

⁴²Church, *op. cit.*, pp. 152-153.

personal growth, but also as a means for spreading scriptural holiness throughout the land. Individual expressions of growth such as increased joy, freedom, assurance, and unity were evidenced. People were "called" to participate more fully in the mission of the church.

The class meetings served the need for socializing, for belonging, for sharing human warmth, and for developing fraternal bonds of loving concern for others. As in our Chilean context, the class meetings provided opportunities for material aid, and for other expressions of concern for the physical and spiritual needs of the brethren. Closely associated with this concern for the common welfare was the emphasis on instruction, on the teaching and proclamation of the Bible, on basic doctrines and moral principles, all through the encouragement of freedom of expression. It is this emphasis on freedom of expression that indicates that the class meeting might be suitable as an organizational basis for the Freire approach.

Certainly the class meeting has proved to be effective. While the band disappeared, the class meeting continued in all branches of Methodism until near the twentieth century and still continues in many places. The "select societies" lost their effectiveness, but the societies gradually became Methodist congregations. For more than a hundred years the class meeting was the "right arm of Methodism."⁴³

As the period of the Church's greatest spirituality was that of the class meeting's greatest power, so a period of spiritual declension in the Church was also marked by the decline of the class meeting.⁴⁴

⁴³Fitzgerald, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

⁴⁴*Ibid.*, p. 46.

The Relevance of the Class Meeting for Adult Theological Education among the Protestant Laity in Chile

Our main purpose has been to discuss briefly the origin and early development of the class meeting and to see if this approach may be useful as an organizational model for adult theological education among the Protestant laity in Chile. It is our thesis that it can be, perhaps with some modification. This does not necessarily imply the introduction of the Methodist class meeting into the Chilean Protestant framework, for it is already there. Many Pentecostal churches in Chile are divided into "avanzadas" or mission churches, which are, in turn, sub-divided into cells or "groups," as they call them. Each "group" has its "group guide," a lay preacher who often has services in his home when there are no services in the local church or the "mother" church. On the evenings when the local church does have its meetings, the leader leaves his home and passes by the homes of each of the members of the group, singing as they go and repeating Bible verses. If one or more members cannot go, the group usually stops and prays with that person before continuing. Church growth is very rapid in this type of system, and mother churches often become very large. The largest in Santiago is completing a sanctuary which will seat over 10,000. The present sanctuary holds almost that many, and it is often overflowing.

To use the organizational structure of the Methodist class meeting as adapted to Chilean Protestant needs by the Pentecostals, combined with the educational philosophy of Paulo Freire, would demand

that the modern dynamic of the small group process be more consciously reinforced in present existing structures in some cases. In other situations, the class meeting organizational approach, the educational philosophy of Freire, and group dynamics would all three need to be introduced. This would necessitate considerable time and would suggest that the most appropriate arena for experimentation with Freire's method is with Pentecostal groups or Methodist congregations which already use the class meeting system. That is what we have been trying to do in some instances in the "Pilot Project" at the Theological Community in Santiago.

What are some of the goals of this threefold combination of the class meeting, Freire's philosophy, and modern group dynamics? This approach may renew and revitalize adult theological education by providing opportunities for personal spiritual development, added training, increased fellowship, added mutual understanding, increased dialogue, opportunities for introspection, the personal application of psychological insights, new opportunities for worship, but more important, the possibility of liberation for the oppressed. The modern class meeting provides the small group in which the oppressed may view reality together, realize new opportunities for changing that reality, and thus transform the church, the community, the world, and be transformed themselves. The class meeting would provide the organizational framework in which mutual edification could take place, confession, caring, personal involvement, Christian growth, and social change. Freire's "circles of culture" could be replaced by the class

meeting as the basic group which seeks the fulfillment of human potential through a critical, active process in which habits of resignation are overcome. In the class meetings, human growth would take place as students dialogue about meaningful situations in their lives and join in a common purpose, seeking truth about relevant problems while respecting each other's opinions. Certainly praxis is not foreign to Wesley's class meetings, nor is the "awakening of consciousness," or changes of mentality involving an accurate, realistic awareness of one's locus in nature and society. In a very real sense, the participants in Wesley's class meetings were oppressed people who needed freedom. It is true that they spoke of and searched for spiritual freedom primarily, but in our modern interpretation of the needs of the whole man, Freire's goals and Wesley's are compatible. What could be more important than encounters with other humans in a common search for the means to better the situation of all concerned? What is more important than man's right to knowledge and culture, and his right to criticize his situation and act upon it?

The educational model which results from the combination of Freire and the small group approach used historically by Wesley and today in the small group process is ideally suited for reflection and action, for the deepening of faith, fellowship, service, and transforming action in the world. Opportunities are provided for both human intimacy, self-fulfillment, and social action through the renovation and transformation of individuals and groups within the church and outside of her. The process of liberation through education may be carried out in both the small group and in the larger fellowship with

which the small groups are associated. Every participant may become a priest to his neighbor and a means for personal liberation and the liberation of other members in the group.

Hopefully the recommendations and principles which follow in the next chapter may serve as guidelines for such an educational approach, both in Chile and in other areas with similar needs for liberation through personal growth and social change.

CHAPTER VII

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE LAY EDUCATION OF PROTESTANT LAITY IN CHILE

This concluding chapter is an attempt to relate the educational ministry of the church to the needs of the Chilean Protestant laity. General principles of liberating education will be shared, along with general and specific recommendations which may be helpful to Chilean Protestants as they continue to search for new ways of making lay theological education relevant and meaningful.

THE ROLE OF THE CHURCH IN THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION

One of the ministries of the church is that of religious education. As a community of those called by God (Acts 8:1; Romans 16:5; Col. 4:15; I Cor. 1:2), the church exists in dependence on the one who summons her, that is, God (I Cor. 1:2; 10:32; Gal. 1:13; I Thess. 2:14). To be the people of God (II Cor. 6:16), the church must be concerned with the adequate education of those who are called "a chosen race, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, God's own people" (I Peter 2:9-10) in order that they may be faithful to the mission with which they have been entrusted. In the following discussion the church as an institution may be distinguished from the church in its essential nature. The church as church stands in stark contrast to human institutions because its life is the love of God.

The Ministry of the Laity

One aspect of this ministry involves the "priesthood of all believers" or the "ministry of the laity." The people of God, called of God through Jesus Christ, and sustained by the Holy Spirit, are God's own people with a special mission, which includes the mandate to "make disciples," a process which certainly involves education. This educational process takes place partly in the fellowship (*koinonia*) of those who participate in the church. The growth group, for example, is a contemporary means of expressing what the New Testament calls for when it speaks of *koinonia*: fellowship, communion, or partnership. These smaller groups function within the unity of the larger body of Christ, the Church, which is a corporate group or body of peoples who are called into being by God through Christ and united by his Spirit.

The Mission of the Church

The gathered church exists so that worship may be promoted, the word and sacraments administered, Christian fellowship and discipline maintained, believers edified, and the world converted, as the introduction to the membership ritual of one of the major denominations states. In order that these goals may be realized, it is necessary that the congregation gather for worship, the proclamation of the Word, and the administration of the sacraments and the other ordinances. Also, Christian fellowship and discipline must be maintained, through the pastoral task in which both laity and clergy cooperate. Discipline, as Wesley put it in his description of the Methodist societies, means

that the group will recognize its responsibility "to pray together, to receive the word of exhortation, and to watch over one another in love so that they may help each other to work out their salvation." Vital to this process is the ministry of "edification," which is usually interpreted as being the ministry of education.

Education within the gathered community aids that fellowship to be the church in the world, the scattered community which has been called to be leaven, salt and light (Mat. 5:14; Jn. 8:12; 9:5; 6:22; Eph. 5:8; I Jn. 1:7; Mat. 13:33; I Cor. 5:6-8; Gal. 5:9; Mk. 9:50; Lk. 14:34). The church has been commissioned to go into all the world as the "diaspora," those who have been "sown asunder" or "sown abroad." However, education cannot be limited to those experiences shared in the gathered community alone, for the educating process continues as the church serves in the world.

The "world" with which this paper has been concerned is Latin America. The needs considered were the needs of one of the Latin American countries, namely, Chile. Liberating education attempts to relate the message of the Gospel and the philosophy of Paulo Freire to these needs.

The Church in a Revolutionary Situation

Previously discussed was the desperate Latin American situation of population increase, poverty, misery, frustration, irritation, and anger. Subsistence is a basic problem. Agricultural output is low, resources are underdeveloped, and industrial production is lagging.

The masses live in subhuman conditions which permit inadequate housing, malnutrition, hunger, indecent clothing, disease, ignorance and illiteracy. There is a "revolution of growing expectations" which has been frustrated by attempts at revolution through technical and scientific means which often prove to be reactionary. A revolution which transfers power and provides a more equal distribution of goods and the universal extension of the ideas of human dignity is what is needed in much of Latin America.

Jürgen Moltmann affirms that the revolutionary situation in which we live suggests that Christians are able to deal responsibly with their human future only as they do so "revolutionarily."¹ Revolution, for Moltmann, is defined as a change in the structural basis of a system--whether economic, political, moral, or religious. All other changes can be understood as evolution or reform. In this context, Moltmann feels that a theology of revolution or liberation is not created by bishops, but rather is developed by lay Christians who struggle and suffer in the world. Before a "theology of revolution" may be developed, there must be a revolution in theology. If Christians are not acting revolutionarily, they have no right to make theological speeches about revolution. Neither does the church have a right to propose a "theology of revolution" for the world if it is not engaged in its own basic liberation and transformation.

¹Jürgen Moltmann, "God in the Revolution," *Student World*, LXI:3 (1968), 241ff.

For some, to express solidarity with the oppressed means leaving the church. Perhaps the Christian faith is losing its power to make history move, or to bring in the future, or to create a new person and a new community. Some criticize the church for knowing only about the past, and not about where it is going. Christians are being called to face the future with a self-critical movement of repentance and faith, realizing that the modern world is open-ended and is geared to the future. With the prophets of the Old Testaments and the apostles of the New, Christians must unite with others who are working for change, who are striving for an exodus from religious, economic, social and political enslavement. The God of promise and of the Exodus, the God of the covenant and of hope, is the God who goes before the Christian and before the church into the future. Christians are known as those who hope for a liberation which is to come and who work for that liberation. The scriptures speak of a "new Jerusalem," a "new man," a "new covenant," a "new song," the "new wine," and a "new creation of heaven and earth" (Isa. 65:17; II Pet. 3:13; Ez. 11:19; Mat. 9:17; II Cor. 5:17). "Behold, I (God) am making all things new" (Rev. 21:5). Transformation is a basic element in God's present and future activity. God liberates as he participates in the Exodus, in the sending of the Messiah, in the liberating gospel which frees the captives and gives hope to the oppressed, and in the formation of the "new people of God" who work for the freeing of all mankind. In the contemporary struggles for freedom and justice, Christians must cooperate with God by committing themselves to the side of the oppressed, while not

forgetting the oppressor. Both need to be liberated.

GENERAL PRINCIPLES FOR LIBERATING EDUCATION

The church is both a teaching church and a learning church. One of the most important subjects which must be considered is that of freedom. The message of the Gospel includes the affirmation that Christ has set men free from the yoke of slavery (Gal. 5:1), and that men are called to be free for loving service (Gal. 5:13). The church is the one agency which should never rest under the tyranny of men because its master is God. Service of God makes the church revolt until all men are free.

The Transformation of the Individual and Social Structures

The church in its educational ministry must seek to serve the oppressed through identification with all who suffer and are in need. Educational efforts must be directed at both the transformation of the individual and the social structures which enslave persons and society. Liberation and humanization through education must be given high priority in the church's efforts to minister to those who are being dominated or "domesticated" by the situation in which they live.

Identification with the Oppressed

The educating church must realize that there is no such thing as neutrality in education, in theology, in science, or in technology. While the church must attempt to serve all those who wish to be

educated, her primary mission is to the poor, the oppressed, the "domesticated" who are becoming more and more enslaved. It is imperative that the church oppose the strategies, structures, and goals of the oppressors who are attempting to maintain the status quo through the domination of the weak. Through the conscientization of the oppressed, they may become the means for the freeing of the oppressors so that both oppressed and oppressor may live in a new relation of peace and harmony in which these distinctions no longer exist. Through dialogue and cooperation in reflection and action, difficulties will be solved and structures transformed.

Unification of Theory and Practice

Another important principle which must be applied is the unification of theory and practice in theological education. The use of Freire's method allows small groups to relate the theories which are being discussed to their actual situations. A permanent movement results which leads the participants from practice to theory to new practice. Reflection leads to action and action to further reflection. The theoretical praxis is one which is realized in a theoretical context, when the students view the realized praxis from a distance and thus clarify the concrete context of reality in order that it may be transformed. Both elements of the process are actually aspects of one movement in which reflection leads to concrete action and vice versa. Both help the participant to unveil reality in order that it may be transformed.

Political Involvement

Theological education must allow the students and teachers to become politically involved. Conscientization leads to conscious action in which the exploited class, the oppressed, are freed mostly through their own efforts. No one is able to conscientize anyone else. The educator and the students are conscientized together through a dialectical movement between critical reflection concerning a previous action and action which follows the critical reflection. Education for liberation may not be reduced to methods and techniques in which the educators and educated observe the social reality in which they live with the sole purpose of describing that reality. This type of theological education is domesticating. Rather, the goal is the liberation of persons from the type of oppression in which they find themselves, regardless of its expression. This will involve political activity and presupposes political education, since the power is usually in the hands of the elite. For theological education to be translated into practice, there must be a simultaneous radical transformation of society, which involves political activity. Theological education, to be true to its aims, must also be political education.

Liberation versus Development

Another important principle for theological education is the further study of the relative merits of a "theology of liberation" versus a "theology of development." More and more Latin American theologians are committing themselves to a "political theology of

liberation" rather than a "theology of development." I use the term "political theology" to distinguish this theology from one which neglects the political implications of a truly biblical "theology of liberation." A biblical "political theology of liberation" is more adequately prepared to answer the profound concerns of a generation which may be choosing the model of revolutionary transformation rather than development as a means for changing society. The need for the liberation of the oppressed is urgent and cannot wait for the slow processes of development, although development may be one of the useful tools used until more radical changes may be made. Development through technology, for example, is important, but development alone does not seem capable of transforming society to the degree necessary in Latin America. If one accepts Freire's thesis that only the oppressed can say their word and transform the world while liberating the oppressor, then a "political theology of liberation" is the only adequate solution to the urgent needs of the oppressed. If only the oppressed are able to free the oppressors, then theological education must be directed primarily to the oppressed in order that they may denounce the established order and engage in the praxis of transforming this order.

Liberating Reflection-Action

The implications of this principle for theological education is that theological education must be revolutionary, in the sense that it must oppose oppression and exploitation and favor the liberation of the oppressed classes in concrete terms, and not only in idealistic

theories. Theological educators must choose between the past and the future, between oppression and liberation, between death and life, between sterility and creativity, between hopelessness and hope, between silence and the "saying of the word." Both the educator-student and the student-educator must work together so that each may liberate himself and, in turn, help others to be liberated. Through this type of conscientization, reality will be transformed as persons become participants rather than spectators. The tensions mentioned above (between past and future, etc.) will become the challenges to which theological education must respond. The result will be revolutionary and liberating praxis.

In order that it may be truly liberating, theological education must place more stress on action, but not to the neglect of reflection. Risk must be the basic characteristic of all reflection-action. The choice of becoming individualists, pietists, intellectuals, or theoreticians is not really an option for those engaged in this type of liberating education. Rather, the liberating educator must be willing to commit himself or herself historically to the struggles in which people are involved, in order that he or she may come to view reality along with those who are suffering, and seek to enter into projects which will transform that reality. This is education for transformation, a model which will not allow the artificial dichotomy between theory and practice, between intellectual work and manual labor, between this world and the world to come.

GENERAL RECOMMENDATIONS

What types of recommendations may be made to the Protestant Church in Chile regarding the theological education of their laity? First, I shall mention several general recommendations.

Liberating Education for the Masses

Education in the schools supported by the various denominations should study the possibility of adopting some of the educational principles suggested by Freire. For example, some of the "church schools" which allow the middle and upper classes to define the type of education offered in these schools could be transformed into schools which operate more for the benefit of the lower classes. Of course, one of the reasons that these schools often cater to the upper classes is a financial consideration. To become a school for the needy is parallel to the church becoming a church for the poor: the financial risks are great. However, if this principle is applied to theological education in the "Sunday schools" and in other small groups, the risks are not great, since a vast majority of the local Protestant churches in Latin America minister to the lower class. Liberating education could be stressed in these educational processes with less difficulty.

Education In and For the World

Adopting some of Freire's principles might mean that theological education in the local church and in the seminaries of the Protestant churches in Latin America would be more "worldly" and less

isolated in local church situations. Some of the churches, namely the Pentecostals, would be forced to view not only what the Bible says, but also what is occurring in the world around them, and relate the two. This would definitely be a healthy interaction. Since most of these churches are located in poorer areas, the unveiling of the reality around them might lead these churches into programs which combine the need for personal growth and social action, the latter of which is being sadly neglected. A recommendation that Protestant churches turn outward toward the needs of others would mean that profound inequalities, dehumanizing situations, oppression, injustice, hunger, inadequate housing, food, and clothing would need to be considered and acted upon. The gathered church studying these conditions could then become the scattered congregation, serving those with needs such as those mentioned above. Education for liberation would help open these "closed churches." The world would perhaps help correct an overly pietistic, other-worldly emphasis. The struggle against "sin and the devil," talked about so freely within the walls of the sanctuary, could be incarnated in the concrete efforts of an oppressed peoples to be liberated.

Education in Small Groups

It is also recommended that the use of small groups be employed to a much greater extent so that participants may learn to "say their word" and "change their world" in the context of a loving, caring community, similar to the societies employed by Wesley and mentioned

previously. The church would be transformed from what LaLive calls the "refuge of the masses," into societies, cells, task forces, or growth groups which are engaged as a group and as individuals in the liberating struggle of the oppressed classes on every level of existence. Some of the small groups may choose to work almost entirely within the local church; others may engage in service ministries, evangelism, social action, personal growth, or Bible study or prayer. The possibilities are almost endless, and are well-known to most North American readers. But this vast potential has scarcely been investigated by most Protestant churches in Latin America. A combination of Freire's philosophy and the richness of the small group approach would give churches new vitality and a new mission: the transformation of society through conscientization as effected in the religious society working out of the local church.

Indigenous Education

Identification with the needs and desires of the masses would require that theological education disassociate itself from outside financial interests, such as support from religious bodies outside of the country. If theological education is to be truly liberating, it must be "indigenous," which means that it must be entirely dependent upon resources, both in personnel and in financial support, which are available from within the local situation. Identification with foreign interests provides the same type of obstacle that is suggested in the identification of theological education with the elite

oppressors within the country. To be truly liberating education, theological education must be free from outside dominating influences, regardless of their origin. The revolutionary and liberating message of the Gospel must not be presented in a reformist developmentalism which offers little hope to the groups with which the church is working, but rather must be freed to find those local political, economic and social expressions which are most adequate to meet local needs.

Transformation of the Church through Education

A church freed from outside domination must also be a church open to her own transformation. Experiments must be conducted in new teaching methods, new content, new leadership styles, new forms of evangelism and social action, and new styles of group activity. Educational styles used formerly in church situations when the church was basically a rural church must be adapted to urban life. Theological vocabulary, symbols, and ideas which are basically identified with the past must be reformulated so that modern man may participate fully and meaningfully in theological discussion. The masses which have participated in their "culture of silence" in the church must be given a voice, and a means of participation in decision-making. It is not enough to transform structures alone within the church; it is necessary that radical transformations in other aspects of theological education be accompanied by transformations in church structure, in church buildings, in programs, and in the various forms of outreach.

Educating Prophetically

Along with structural and methodological changes, the church in its ministry of education for liberation must take more seriously the urgent need for exercising its prophetic voice. By rejecting static forms of thinking, and traditional, often simplistic answers to contemporary complex questions, the church through liberating education will begin to search for a critical consciousness which takes seriously the concrete realities which exist in Latin America. This prophetic position which takes critical analysis seriously will not be able to remain silent when faced with social structures, for example, which serve only the dominant classes, or with idealists who speak of utopian dreams, or revolutionaries who wish to destroy the totality of existing structures without having an adequate plan for building new structures. Rather, a prophetic stance is one which is anxious to enter into reflection-action with others without having pre-fabricated answers ready for any given question. Such a prophetic approach realizes the wrong which exists in present structures, but it also realizes that the creation of a new man and a new society is a very complex process, and often a rather slow one. Such a prophetic body will realize that it has little which must be "conserved," that it is not a refuge, or a center for intellectualizing. Rather, such a church will engage in new Exoduses with its leader, Christ, the Liberator, who always moves forward, dying that others might live, risking that others may enjoy a more meaningful life. Education for liberation involves opening a new road, one not previously traveled, in order

that the liberation of men and women may become a reality in the near future, and that the liberation of structures may be a radical transformation which really changes men and society.

SPECIFIC RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION OF THE PROTESTANT LAITY IN CHILE

Along with the previously mentioned general recommendations, the following more specific recommendations may be useful in the Chilean context in the preparation of the Protestant laity.

An Adequate Program

One basic need in the Chilean Protestant Church is for a program of liberating theological education on the congregational level. This program could be set up using the visual materials which, following the Freire approach, we are developing at the Theological Community in Santiago. In this program we have some 100 slides and pictures which attempt to present some twenty-five generative themes which were selected by Protestant congregations in a lengthy process of investigation and dialogue. We are preparing written program materials which would accompany the visual aids.

Well Trained Enablers

A second specific recommendation would be that the Protestant community attempt to prepare enablers or moderators who would be able to share the basic programs with local congregations on an ecumenical

basis. These enablers would take courses in which both Freire's educational philosophy and dynamics of the growth group are stressed, along with the basic needs of Chilean society and the Chilean church.

Re-organization of the Local Church

A third recommendation is that participating local churches be re-structured into the type of organization used by many of the Pentecostal groups (the class or small society), so that an organizational framework for Freire's philosophy would be available. In many instances, these small groups already exist. Along with this organizational structure, it would be necessary to invite pastors to participate in the establishment of the program and materials to be used. If possible, these pastors should be stimulated to participate in groups which would study present and proposed models for the theological education of the laity.

Preparation of Appropriate Materials

A fourth specific recommendation is that small pamphlets and booklets be produced on the major themes so that the initial programs may be followed by more profound studies. These study guides would be geared to laypersons and available at a very moderate cost.

Additional Reflection-Action Groups

A fifth recommendation is that reflection-action groups be organized to supplement the above study groups. These groups would

engage in multiple ministries, the majority of which would be directly or indirectly engaged in liberating processes. In other words, the reflection-action groups would become action groups.

Finally, it must be remembered that the theories, methods, suggestions, principles and recommendations mentioned in this discussion relate to only certain aspects of the church's ministry, and are to be seen in that light. Christian ministry also includes worship, counseling, fellowship, study, prayer, visitation, evangelism, growth groups, and a variety of other types of activity.

The basic human need which has been discussed is the need to be treated as a human being and the relation of this to the essential right to education. Dom Helder Camara expresses this need in the following words:

The most serious, saddest and most shameful thing of all is that our super-civilization very often does not understand, fears, even combats and, not uncommonly, crushes profoundly human efforts to help in the attempt to guarantee all men access to the most fundamental and sublime of educations: a liberating education.²

Hopefully Freire's educational theory will help contribute to the goal of a liberating education for all Chilean Protestants.

²Dom Helder Camara, "Change of Structures also in Wealthy Countries?" an address given at Fordham University (New York), January 17, 1972.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

KARL BARTH AND LIBERATION

While Jürgen Moltmann has become popular in Latin America through the interpretations of men such as Rubem Alves, other continental theologians have contributed significantly to the theological thinking which is producing the "theologies of liberation." One such theologian is Karl Barth, who is an important source for such thinkers as Alves, Emilio Castro (who studied under Barth), Jose Miguez Bonino, and others. Another who has been heavily influenced by Barth is James Cone, whose book, *A Black Theology of Liberation*, contains a prologue by Paulo Freire.

The following is a brief attempt to define Barth's view of the relation of the freedom of God to the freedom of man. It is precisely this aspect of Barth's theology which has attracted the attention of some of the liberation theologians.

THE FREEDOM OF GOD AND THE FREEDOM OF MAN

This discussion attempts to present briefly only four points: the freedom of God, freedom in Jesus, the freedom of man, and the relationship between God and man in Jesus. I begin with the freedom of God because Christian theology, for Barth, begins with the reality of God, and a theology of freedom also should begin with the freedom

of God.¹ Man's freedom exists only in encounter with God's own freedom, the source and measure of all freedom.²

The Freedom of God

God's freedom is freedom in himself, freedom to exist in his own existence, self-sufficiency, freedom to be who he is.³ God's very existence is the freedom which needs no necessity, no inevitability, no straitness.⁴ However, although God is free from all origination and determination from without, and is free to *be* himself, Barth does include the concept of divine immanence in the transcendence of God. God is absolutely free to be with that which is not God. God is free in relation to the world and in relation to his creatures to have fellowship with them.⁵ God's freedom is seen in his sovereignty as

¹I agree with Harvey Cox that we all stand today in the shadow of Karl Barth, especially because of his emphasis on man's response to God's initiative and on the sovereignty of God. Cox in his *God's Revolution and Man's Responsibility* (Valley Forge: Judson Press, 1965) p. 31 states: "The great theological service performed by Karl Barth for our generation was his warning that religion is often the last battleground on which man fights against God and tries to make God something less than the sovereign of all life."

²Karl Barth, *The Humanity of God* (Richmond: John Knox Press, 1960), p. 71.

³Karl Barth, *Church Dogmatics* (Edinburgh: Clark, 1957), II:1, 306. Hereafter this work will be designated *C.D.* Here Barth states that God does not need his own being to be who he is.

⁴*C.D.*, II:1, p. 307.

⁵Barth's doctrine of God is a radical assertion of the Reformers' theme of God's sovereignty. It is God's own will and choice that he reveals himself to man. God is free in his unity, omnipresence, constancy and omnipotence, but his freedom is so inclusive that neither

Lord and in His grace as revealed in his works, in election, in creation, in reconciliation and in redemption. God's character is expressed in love and freedom as the One who freely loves,⁶ the One who elected himself to fellowship with man and man to fellowship with him in Jesus Christ.⁷ In other words, God in his freedom (of his own free will) seeks and creates a covenant fellowship between himself and man in Jesus Christ, expressing his complete freedom in this divine-human encounter by revealing himself to man in his *being* and in his *act*.⁸

The freedom of God in his revelation is essentially not freedom *from*, but freedom *to* and *for*. God in his humanity relates to man, bends toward man, talks to man in promise, acts for man, communes with man, and freely gives man freedom, grace, and wisdom. The One who is free to love freely chooses to relate to man (positive freedom). The *form* of God's freedom is that he relates to man, he seeks man, and allows his freedom to become the form and the possibility of man's freedom. God is the free Lord of all things, the One who is free to be God and to be God for man and in man in Jesus Christ. He is the transcendent and immanent One, the One who loves in freedom, manifested in his holiness, grace, mercy, righteousness, patience, wisdom and

his Deity nor man's sinfulness prevents him from being *for* man and *with* man in Jesus, and from relating to man in creation and covenant.

⁶C.D., I:1, p. 257ff.

⁷C.D., II:2, par. 32-35.

⁸Barth, *The Humanity of God*, pp. 36, 40, 51. C.D., II:1, p. 262: "God must not only be unconditioned, but in the absoluteness in which he sets up this fellowship, he can and will also be conditioned"

judgment. This God is free enough to enter into a creature and indwell it without taking away anything. In his loving kindness, God has chosen to be with man, to call man repeatedly, to be merciful and faithful, to allow his creature to choose and choose again. God freely co-exists with man, committing himself to man, "making himself in his Son a man of Israel and the brother of all men, appropriating human nature into the unity of his own being."⁹

Expressed in the trinitarian formula, the Father is free for the Son and the Son for the Father, in the unity of the Spirit.¹⁰ God as the Father, wills to be free for man; as the Son, acts to be free for man; and as the Spirit, decides to be free in man.¹¹ God as Father, Son, and Holy Spirit loves in freedom; the triune God is One who lives in freedom as well as One who in freedom, loves.¹²

The Freedom of God Fulfilled in Jesus Christ

The central thrust of Barth's theology is what Hans Urs von

⁹Barth, *The Humanity of God*, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, p. 78.

¹¹*C.D.*, II:2, p. 175: "The fact that God is means that from all eternity God is active in his inner relationships as Father, Son and Holy Ghost, that he wills himself and knows of himself, that he loves, that he makes use of his sovereign freedom, that he maintains and exercises this freedom, and in so doing maintains and demonstrates himself."

¹²*C.D.*, II:1, pp. 320ff., 440ff. Barth speaks of love and then freedom. In divine loving we come to know divine freedom.

Balthasar and others have called "the Christological concentration."¹³ For Barth, the "Christological concentration" is an inevitable way of expressing obedience and gratitude, of recognizing that Scriptures lead us to Jesus and Jesus returns us to Scriptures. "Jesus Christ," Barth said in his first Barmen thesis of 1934, "such as Scripture bears witness of him for us, is the one word of God that we must hear, that we must trust, and that we must obey in life and death."¹⁴ Jesus is the electing God and the elected man, the one Word of God that calls men to life by placing them within the realm of life and freedom in common humanity, the one who is God's creative, redeeming and revelatory word.¹⁵ The humanity of God and the election of his grace are revealed in the person of Jesus Christ, who is the full expression of God's humanity, the election of God for man, the elected Man who is our substitute, the one who has effected our reconciliation before God,¹⁶ and

¹³See Karl Barth's *Anselm: Fides Quaerens Intellectum* (Richmond: John Knox Press, 1960). Also *C.D.*, II:2, p. 123: "A Church dogmatics must, of course, be Christologically determined as a whole and in all its parts, as surely as the revealed Word of God, attested by Holy Scripture and proclaimed by the Church, as its one and only criterion, and as surely as this revealed Word is identical with Jesus Christ.... As a whole, i.e. in the basic statements of a church dogmatics, Christology must either be dominant and perceptible, or else it is not Christology."

¹⁴Karl Barth, "God, Grace, and Gospel," *Scottish Journal of Theology, Occasional Papers*, VIII (1959), p. 36 states that God's grace is that kindness, compassion, and condescension in which God is our God and befriends us in Jesus Christ. Jesus alone is the content of the Gospel.

¹⁵In *C.D.*, I:2, p. 114, Barth states that it is necessary to presuppose Christology at the outset in order that one may "speak Christologically."

¹⁶*C.D.*, II:1, pp. 513-514. In Jesus Christ we see the whole picture of God's act of creation, reconciliation and redemption of man.

the one who died and rose again for man. Jesus is the object and subject of election, the elected and the elector.¹⁷ Jesus is both the beginning of all God's ways and the goal of God's eternal will.¹⁸ Jesus Christ, the Son of God, elects to be elected for man by his freedom in obedience.¹⁹

God is knowable only in that he chooses to be, and because he has chosen to be in Jesus Christ. God is veiled until he tells us about himself in Jesus, who is the unveiling of God in the incarnation, God in his act brings Jesus to man in history, the incarnation becoming the center of theology, the revelation of God to man. But we are not to confuse the distinction between human freedom and the divine freedom whereby God in Jesus took man's part, for man's freedom always remains human freedom.²⁰ To facilitate the discussion of God's freedom as

¹⁷*C.D.*, II:2, pp. 100ff.

¹⁸*C.D.*, II:2, pp. 116ff. See Robert W. Jenson, *Alpha and Omega: A Study in the Theology of Karl Barth* (Edinburgh: Nelson, 1963).

¹⁹Thus Barth can say in *C.D.*, II:2, p. 605: "In what Jesus does, everything is permission, freedom, spontaneity. The will of God is his own will. . . . For he is the Son of the Father. . . . He is therefore genuinely free, the One who is subject to the Law by his own volition. . . . Jesus is free as God himself is free, because and as he executes the resolve and will of the free love of God. It is in freedom that God has turned and covenanted himself to man, and it is in the same freedom that the act of the covenant has been completed by Jesus. It is in this freedom that he lives the life of the first and basic and normative covenant-partner of God. . . . And this obedience of Jesus is the clear reflection of the unity of the Father and the Son by the bond of the Holy Spirit in the being of the eternal God himself, who is the fullness of all freedom."

²⁰Barth, *The Humanity of God*, pp. 81ff.

expressed in Jesus Christ, it may be helpful to turn immediately to man's freedom.

Human Freedom

Jesus as the expression of God's freedom can best be understood in the discussion of human freedom. We have said that God in his freedom did not want to be without man, but rather *with* man and *for* man as man's partner. God's humanity is his free affirmation of man, his free sharing with man. God the Creator, the "Human God," requires that man live, but man must accept the limitation of being a creature. Man is meant to be free, to live in complete, joyous grateful trust in God. Through God's commandment, man receives the "freedom to live," the freedom to accept this life as a blessing, as a loan from God. The God who loves in freedom bestows freedom to man that he may freely choose to be responsibly obedient to God's Word in Jesus Christ and accept his place as a covenant-partner with God. This is freedom *for* God.²¹ Man's freedom is the freedom of obedience to God's command and the freedom from the bondage of sin.²² By the gift of freedom man is awakened to "true selfhood and new life."²³ Man's freedom is a freedom freely given, and is completely contained within God's freedom in Jesus Christ, a freedom within the limitations of the once-and-for-all

²¹ C.D., II:2, pp. 552ff.; III:1, pp. 263ff.; IV:1, pp. 43.

²² C.D., pp. 364ff., 408; II:2, pp. 516ff., 535ff., 552ff.; III:1, pp. 265f.

²³ C.D., I:2, pp. 362ff.; II:2, pp. 583ff.

opportunity of the temporal existence allotted to him, a freedom to turn to God, to believe in him and to obey, love, and praise him.²⁴ Man is free to decide, but his freedom lies only in obedience to the Word of God.²⁵ In this decision-making process, God gives both his Word and faith, and through his Spirit, makes man open and ready for his Word.²⁶ God gives man the freedom to make responsible decisions and act within the limitations of that freedom through partnership with God in the covenant relationship.²⁷

In this partnership relationship, the free grace of God is important. Human freedom is a freedom of grace, under grace, and for grace.²⁸ Grace is the power of obedience and the knowledge of the will of God. Under grace man is free from the power of sin and free from the law. Under grace the future is opened because there is the possibility that God will call man to be something different, a new man or a new woman. When the freedom of God enters our lives in this relationship under God's grace, God's command orders man to be free,

²⁴C.D., I:1, pp. 513ff.; I:2, pp. 203ff.

²⁵C.D., I:2, p. 246: "In the Holy Spirit," Barth says, "we know that we cannot ascribe to man any freedom of his own for God, any possibility of his own to become the recipient of revelation."

²⁶This is no denial of man's freedom and responsibility for Barth. Barth argues that man's faith is a human experience; it is really his faith. The Holy Spirit only evokes this faith in man.

²⁷The "image of God" concept for Barth does not imply only that man was created with memory, intellect, and will, but rather stresses the idea of partnership between man and God, and between man and woman.

²⁸C.D., I:1, pp. 478f.; II:2, p. 585; III:1, pp. 363ff.

freeing man to do what God allows man to do. Man is not bound to obey, but he must obey to be genuinely free.²⁹ In other words, God creates and effects in man the possibility of being truly free.³⁰ But true human freedom comes through faith in God through Jesus, the unconditional Yes to the command of God.

Man demonstrates his gratitude by a thankful response, by using his God-given freedom lovingly. The "real man" is a being in gratitude, in thanksgiving to God. "Real man" gives thanks by believing in God and by trusting, obeying and loving God and his fellow man through witness and service.³¹ Man has opportunity both to receive God's gift and to be grateful to God. This grateful spirit expresses itself in love, a genuine free act of man's obedience to the will and Word of God. God's love is the model of his free action and gives man the freedom to express self-giving love *in concreto*, a love which chooses and differentiates, a love for the one in need, the "neighbor."³²

²⁹C.D., II:2, p. 595. Man renounces his own free will to choose to be under the will of God, which liberates man, freeing man to exercise his own freedom. God is free for man in Jesus Christ, and man is free for God in the Holy Spirit (C.D., I:1, p. 207; 513ff.; I:2, 203ff.).

³⁰Quoting "If the Son makes you free, you shall be free indeed," Barth in C.D., IV:1, p. 745, remarks: "The Son makes a man free to believe in him. Therefore faith in him is the act of a right freedom, not although but just because it is the work of the Son." The Holy Spirit, he continues, is the power in which Jesus Christ makes a man genuinely free for faith.

³¹C.D., II:1, pp. 211ff., 667f.; III:2, pp. 166ff.; IV:1, pp. 42f.

³²C.D., IV:2, p. 789. The "neighbor" is the fellow-man who is related to the Christian in the historical context of the Christian community, but includes anyone who is oppressed.

Existence becomes obedience, sadness becomes a joyful movement outward toward God and others, selfishness is turned to a loving, and grateful response in concrete situations.³³ Man's freedom is expressed in confession, in word and act, in the acknowledgement before God and man of the grace of God which allows man to bear witness in service, in responding, in giving his life, and above all, in thanksgiving. "Gratitude is the precise creaturely counterpart to the grace of God. What is by the Word of the grace of God, must be in gratitude. . . ."³⁴ To be grateful is to recognize a benefit and a Benefactor, and to express this gratefulness by spreading the thanksgiving experience in the world, helping the oppressed to become free so that they too can offer thanksgiving in their situation.³⁵

³³C.D., III:2, p. 182; III:4, p. 85; III:2, pp. 166ff.: "To be summoned is to be called out of oneself and beyond oneself. . . . Man is summoned to hear and obey the Word, i.e., to be, and to continue to be, in the hearing of this Word, then the being of man can and must be more precisely defined as a being in GRATITUDE. . . . When we understand the being of man as a correspondence to this Word, we understand it as a being in GRATITUDE."

³⁴C.D., III:2, p. 166.

³⁵Jürgen Moltmann in "The Revolution of Freedom: The Christian and Marxist Struggle," in Thomas Ogletree (ed.) *Openings for Marxist Christian Dialogue* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1968), p. 53, states that "Jahweh is . . . the God who leads his people out of the house of bondage. Thus he is a God of freedom, the God ahead of us. One acquires social, political, and world-surpassing freedom from God, not against him." James H. Cone, *A Black Theology of Liberation* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1970), p. 48, calls for an anthropocentric point of departure in theology because he is concerned with man, not man in general, but oppressed man. I do not think that Barth would be opposed to the latter, speaking of oppressed man. Since in Barth's theology, man's freedom before God and his fellowman is based on the freedom of each man to reverence his own life and that of every other person as a loan from God, and since this freedom is to be expressed in faith, love

The Relationship Between the Freedom of God and the Freedom of Man

As Barth's discussion of Kierkegaard's infinite, qualitative distinction has shown, there is an "infinite qualitative difference" between God and man. "God is in heaven and man on earth," says Barth, and "that is it." The message of the Christian faith is not the word of man but the word of God. Its method is not from man to God, but from God to man. God is the center; he is his own method and message. He begins with a Word directed to man, a Word which comes like a thunderstorm, making an impact like an artillery shell.³⁶ The Word of God comes as proclamation, revelation and Scripture. It is veiled in its unveiling and unveiled in its veiling. When we hear the Word, we are gripped by it, although we may not understand it perfectly. The Word has power to make men decide, but when man makes a decision, he is decided upon. The Word speaks and man decides in obedience or disobedience.

The content of God's Word is his free, undeserved Yes to the human race, in spite of all human unreasonableness and corruption. "The Word of God is the Word that God spoke, speaks, and will speak in

and hope through thanksgiving, how can the "neighbor" who is frequently the oppressed person not be included in Barth's conception?

³⁶Those who would criticize Barth's view of the otherness of God must remember that Barth labored in a period in which there was confusion between deity and humanity. Theology was often identified with psychology; faith with piety. Man was the subject of his relationship with God. God was made in the image of man.

the midst of all men."³⁷ The Word of God is the Gospel, the good word which declares God's good work and discloses his actions in his covenant with man.³⁸ Through this testimony in Jesus Christ, we know that God is man's partner. We know that the goal of creation is the union between God and man, that God relates to his creature through his free love, and that God freely relates to man and to the world in his covenant with man in Jesus Christ.

It is rather difficult to understand Barth's concept of the relation between the human free will and God's action upon it. For Barth, the only being who is truly free is God himself, but just as God is active in his freedom, so the creature can also be active in its freedom. This means that there is no compulsion in his ruling over the creature. God has not overruled man's freedom, for man can rebel, flee from God, hate God, or isolate himself from God. But God does not let go of man.³⁹ The obedience of man is free, not forced. This obedience is rooted in God's love, causing the free man to obey the free God in concrete tasks. This is not just freedom *from*, but freedom *for*, freedom *in* community, freedom to love and serve.

Man obeys God, follows Him, and thus knows him as man's knowledge of God is realized in obedience. God comes to man in Jesus Christ, in promise, saying, "I will come again." God's Word comes as a promise

³⁷Karl Barth, *Evangelical Theology: An Introduction* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1964), p. 14.

³⁸*Ibid.*, p. 15.

³⁹*C.D.*, II:2, p. 317.

and causes man to hope. God's Word comes as a marching order, and is accompanied by grace so that man is able to obey.

Man as creature is given freedom as his creaturely mode, freedom over his own body and thus over himself. Man wills and thinks and acts in his freedom responsibly before his Creator. Man is not only an object, determined by God's freedom; he is also a subject which freely posits himself in his own being. As a subject, man is called to free responsibility before God, to be as a self, a free being who can and should seek and obey God, and who thus posits himself.⁴⁰

This human freedom is an active responsibility before God. It is freedom of choice, freedom in action, freedom given by God. And this choice is right because it corresponds to the choice of God. The free man chooses the free choice of God for him to be responsively active in fulfilling his responsibility before God. Man can choose in his own impossibility, non-being, and "unfreedom." In the words of Ernst Fuchs, freedom is:

⁴⁰C.D., III:2, p. 194: "The concept of freedom is thus the decisive definition of what we mean when we describe man as subject. . . . A subject is something which freely posits itself in its own being. Man is, as he is responsible before God, as he knows and obeys and seeks after Him, and thus posits himself. Hence he is also subject. . . . In the very fact that man is the object of God, he is also human subject. . . . Man is the one creature which God in creating calls to free personal responsibility before Him, and thus treats as a self, a free being. Among all creatures he is the one with which God, in giving it being, also concluded His covenant, the covenant of the free Creator with a free creature, so that man's being bears irrefutably the character of a partner with the divine subject and therefore the character of freedom."

. . . not a new means to a formerly unsuccessful attempt at self-determination, but rather a new determination of the self. Freedom now means no longer that I do what I will, but rather that I do what God does.⁴¹

For Barth, human freedom is freedom to obey God, to be responsible before him, freedom to be oneself as created by God, freedom to praise God in gratitude, and freedom to keep oneself in the proper place of his creatureliness in covenant-partnership with the Creator.⁴² This freedom, then, is choosing, deciding, and determining oneself in accordance with the freedom of God and in obedience to the will of God. Man must obey God in order to make use of his will in freedom. Man must will to be in free fellowship with God by his determination for obedience.⁴³ In other words, man's choice is to choose what has been chosen for him by God.⁴⁴

⁴¹Quoted in Robert T. Osborn, *Freedom in Modern Theology* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1967), p. 14.

⁴²*C.D.*, III:1, p. 265. See also IV:2, p. 494: "The free man is the man who can be genuinely man in fellowship with God. He exercises and has this freedom, therefore, not in an indefinite but in a definite choice in which he demonstrates this capacity. But this capacity is grounded in his fellowship with God; this means in the choice in which he confirms and practices his fellowship with God; in the election, corresponding to his own election and creation and determination, of faith and obedience and gratitude and loyalty to God as the One who is the Creator and Giver not only of his human essence and existence but also of this capacity."

⁴³*C.D.*, III:1, p. 266; cf. *C.D.*, III:2, pp. 414-415.

⁴⁴*C.D.*, III:1, pp. 263ff. Barth states in III:1, p. 264: "The purpose of God in granting man freedom to obey is to verify as such the obedience proposed in and with his creation, i.e., to confirm it, and to actualize it in his own decision. It is obvious that if this is His will, God cannot compel man to obey; He cannot as it were, bring about obedience mechanically. . . ."

This does not mean that man is free to sin, for there is no possibility of sinning in the freedom given to man. He can sin only as he renounces his freedom, choosing the "impossible possibility," choosing servitude.⁴⁵ His *arbitrium* is not a *liberium arbitrium* but a *servum arbitrium*.⁴⁶ By negating his freedom, man has lost his true self and turned away from God to live outside the will of God.

Man's freedom is a freedom *from* and a freedom *for*. It is a freedom *from* sloth,⁴⁷ pride,⁴⁸ falsehood,⁴⁹ and silence.⁵⁰ And man's freedom is a freedom *for*, a freedom to co-exist with one's fellow-men. Man was not created to live in solitary detachment from his fellow-men,⁵¹ but rather to live in union with God and in communion with his fellow-man. Just as Jesus is the "man for others," so man as "I" exists for the encounter with the "Thou." In being oneself, one is what he is for others. Man is never free from his fellow-man, but rather is determined by him in mutual dependency or mutual assistance.

⁴⁵C.D., II:1, p. 503.

⁴⁶Cf. Hans Küng, *Justification* (New York: Nelson, 1964), pp. 47ff.

⁴⁷C.D., IV:1, pp. 358-513; IV:2, pp. 378-498.

⁴⁸C.D., IV:2, p. 459.

⁴⁹C.D., IV:3, pp. 386-478.

⁵⁰C.D., IV:3, pp. 615-620.

⁵¹Barth, *The Humanity of God*, p. 77.

Humanity is the realization of this life together as I and Thou.⁵²

BARTH'S THEOLOGICAL ANTHROPOLOGY

The Editor's Preface to Volume Three of the *Church Dogmatics* states that because of Barth's acute awareness of the great issues of the day which depend on the fundamental decision about man, the whole exposition of the book is characterized by "purity and exactitude in a theological treatment of man as the creature of God, as His dear child and covenant-partner, wholly bounded by His grace and upheld by His faithfulness."⁵³ True theological anthropology must be Christologically grounded, for man's understanding of himself must first be derived from God's revelation in Jesus Christ, particularly the humanity of Christ. Man as creature is determined by God to be His covenant-partner whose essential humanity is found in his togetherness as I and Thou, male and female. Man's sinfulness is revealed by the Word of God, while knowledge of the real man is seen in Jesus Christ. To

⁵²See *C.D.*, III:2, pp. 273ff.: "It is the man who has fallen away from God and from himself who thinks that he can find his essence in that false freedom and therefore himself in an original isolation from which he emerges either gladly or reluctantly to be with his fellow-man. Real man as God created him is not in the waste of isolation. He does not have this choice. He does not need to emerge from this waste. . . . His freedom consists from the very outset in his intending and seeking this other, not to be his tyrant or slave, but his companion, associate, comrade, fellow and helpmate, and that the other may be the same to him. . . . Human nature is man himself. But man is what he is freely and from the heart. And freely and from the heart he is what he is in the secret of the encounter with his fellow-man in which the latter is welcome and he is with him gladly."

⁵³*C.D.*, III:2, p. vii.

understand man, we must first look at man as seen in Christ, the "prototype" of humanity.

The nature of the man Jesus is the key to the problem of the human. This man is man. As certainly as God's relation to sinful man is properly and primarily His relation to this man alone, and a relation to the rest of mankind only in Him and through Him, He alone is primarily and properly man.⁵⁴

In other words, Jesus is the full expression of God's humanity. In Jesus, God has become a human being who is the real man with true creaturely freedom. Jesus Christ is the Elected Man, man's Substitute, the One who has effected our reconciliation before God. "Jesus Christ is the essential truth about the essential nature of man, and even sinful man is still essentially related to him."⁵⁵ Barth's "one Archimedean point" of reference is the union of humanity and divinity in Jesus Christ.

Hartwell summarizes Barth's approach in this way:

Barth's doctrine of man is the most consistent one of its kind and is revolutionary in content. The traditional dogmatic way of thinking is here once more radically reversed. He does not start from the phenomena of the human in general as they present themselves to the philosopher or the scientist. He does not begin, as the anthropology of traditional Christian dogmatics usually does, with the problem of the constitution of man's being, of man's existence (*Dasein*) and nature (*Sein*) in order to proceed from there to the human nature of Jesus Christ in particular. On the contrary, he derives his concept of man, of real man, from the human nature of the one particular man Jesus Christ who, because He is shown to be the revealing Word of God also in respect of the true nature of man, is treated as the source

⁵⁴ C.D., III:2, p. 50.

⁵⁵ Karl Barth, *The Epistle to the Romans* (London: Oxford University Press, 1933), pp. 167-173.

of our knowledge of man as God created him. Moving once more from the particular to the general . . . , Barth takes the concrete man Jesus as the key to the understanding of man, basing his anthropology on Christology and not contrariwise.⁵⁶

Thus his anthropology is both theological and Christological, according to Hartwell. This also may be illustrated by noting Barth's five summary theses which preface each of the sections on man:

Because man, living under heaven and on earth, is the creature whose relation to God is revealed to us in the Word of God, he is the central object of the theological doctrine of creation. As the man Jesus is Himself the revealing Word of God, He is the source of our knowledge of the nature of man as created by God.⁵⁷

The being of man is the history which shows how one of God's creatures, elected and called by God, is caught up in personal responsibility before Him and proves itself capable of fulfilling it.⁵⁸

That real man is determined by God for life with God has its inviolable correspondence in the fact that his creaturely being is a being in encounter--between I and Thou, man and woman. It is human in this encounter, and in this humanity it is a likeness of the being of its Creator and a being in hope in Him.⁵⁹

Through the Spirit of God, man is the subject, form and life of a substantial organism, the soul of his body--wholly and simultaneously both, in inescapable difference, inseparable unity, and indestructible order.⁶⁰

⁵⁶Karl Barth, *Against the Stream* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1954), pp. 186ff.; *Christ and Adam* (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1956), p. 5; *C.D.*, I:2, pp. 296f.; II:2, pp. 161ff.; III:2, pp. 3ff., 19ff., 42ff., 325ff. mentioned in Herbert Hartwell, *The Theology of Karl Barth* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1964), p. 128.

⁵⁷*C.D.*, III:2, p. 3.

⁵⁸*C.D.*, III:2, p. 55.

⁵⁹*C.D.*, III:2, p. 203.

⁶⁰*C.D.*, III:2, p. 325.

Man lives in the allotted span of his present, past and future life. He who was before Him and will be after him, and who therefore fixes the boundaries of his being, is the eternal God, his Creator and Covenant-partner. He is the hope in which man may live in his time.⁶¹

Man's Election

In the order of presentation Barth develops his doctrine of election prior to his doctrine of creation. For Barth, election is God's final decisive and all-inclusive purpose for man. This is known in Jesus Christ, to whom Scripture testifies. Thus creation has no purpose other than election, and it embodies no structure or actuality that points to some other truth about God than the one truth of his election of man in Jesus Christ.⁶²

In Jesus Christ God chooses to be God with us as well as not to be God without us. Election in Jesus is both Yes and No. Jesus was rejected because he took our sin upon himself, but in his sinlessness, he became the Elect and elected us. Thus God says No to sin and Yes to grace.

Jesus Christ is the elected man because He, and He alone, lives the perfect life of the true man as God willed and created him, the life of real man. According to Barth, there are three aspects to the function of Jesus Christ in the decree of election:

⁶¹ C.D., III:2, p. 437.

⁶² C.D., III:1, pp. 18-19.

- a. Jesus Christ is Himself the Electing God.
- b. Jesus Christ is the Elect Man.
- c. Jesus Christ is the only Man rejected or damned by God.⁶³

This is the substance of Barth's doctrine of election.

These three statements are identity statements corresponding to Barth's concept of 'Double Predestination.' This means that Jesus Christ who is the Electing God and the Elect Man and therefore who is the only Man rejected by God has elected Himself to damnation and man to salvation. This further means that Jesus Christ is not merely the mirror of Election, the Mediator or Executor but is Himself the very Decree of Election.⁶⁴

Barth's doctrine of election is his understanding of the Gospel, his interpretation of God's eternal plan for salvation for mankind. Barth identifies election with grace, with the Gospel, and with the content of the message of salvation:⁶⁵

The doctrine of election is the sum of the Gospel because of all words that can be said or heard it is the best: that God elects man, that God is for man too, the One who loves in freedom. It is grounded in the knowledge of Jesus Christ because He is both the electing God and elected man in One. It is part of the doctrine of God because originally God's election of man is a predestination not merely of man but of Himself. Its function is to bear basic testimony to eternal, free and unchanging grace as the beginning of all the ways and works of God.⁶⁶

Barth warns against a view of either an abstract man or an abstract God. "In theology whether man be regarded as a creature, as a sinner or as a Christian he is never outside the sphere of the divine

⁶³See William John Hausmann, *Karl Barth's Doctrine of Election* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1969), pp. 1-89.

⁶⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 1-2.

⁶⁵*Ibid.*, p. 3.

⁶⁶*C.D.*, II:2, p. 3.

decision" (the election of grace).⁶⁷

Thus the Electing God is the Elect Man and the Elect Man is the Electing God. The Decree is the decision which the Electing God made concerning Himself as the Elect Man.⁶⁸ As Cobb interprets Barth, "the purpose and meaning, and hence the actuality of creation, is election and nothing else."⁶⁹ The elect man, the man with purpose, meaning and actuality, is man as the creature that he really is, as seen only in Jesus Christ.⁷⁰ Thus Barth speaks not of Adam and Christ, but of Christ and Adam.

In Jesus Christ the Electing God, the Elect Man and the divine Decree are one. There is no isolation of man from God or of God from man, for there is a mutual encounter in history as covenant-partners in Christ. Jesus Christ is in His one Person, as true God, man's loyal partner, and as true man, God's.⁷¹ Van Til points out the danger in not looking at it this way:

Failing to think of Christ as the electing God has made men fail to see both the freedom and universality of grace. They then looked into the dreadful face of a God, beyond Christ, who arbitrarily might elect or might not elect them. Such arbitrariness is not true freedom. Such arbitrariness caused men to live in dread. And such arbitrariness excluded the universality as

⁶⁷Hausmann, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

⁶⁸*Ibid.*, p. 32.

⁶⁹John B. Cobb, Jr., *Living Options in Protestant Theology* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1962), pp. 189ff.

⁷⁰Barth, *Christ and Adam*, pp. 29, 30, 36, 46, 47, 58, 59.

⁷¹Barth, *The Humanity of God*, pp. 46-47.

well as the freedom of grace. . . . Similarly failing to think of Christ as the elected man leads to the idea of grace as neither free nor universal.⁷²

Christ the Elected Man is also Christ the Rejected Man who appeases the wrath of God, accepting the sin of man, allowing God to expend his wrath.⁷³ Election also includes the eternal election of the Church by and in Jesus Christ.⁷⁴ Men are men only as fellow-elect with Jesus Christ.⁷⁵

Barth's View of Sin

Because of the relation between man's sin and Christ's rejection, it is appropriate at this point to view man's condition. Barth recognizes both the awesome depth of sin and the profound possibilities of man as a child of grace. For Barth, the emphasis is not in man's sinfulness, but in his relation to Jesus Christ. Even man's human sinful nature cannot void God's covenant with man. God's grace provides the possibility for man's redemption. Barth believes that man has "the mad and incomprehensible possibility of sin."⁷⁶ But even though man falls from his creaturely freedom, he does not break away

⁷²Cornelius Van Til, *Christianity and Barthianism* (Philadelphia: Presbyterian and Reformed Publishing Company, 1962), pp. 39-40.

⁷³*Ibid.*, p. 40.

⁷⁴*C.D.*, II:2, p. 215.

⁷⁵*C.D.*, III:2, p. 175.

⁷⁶*C.D.*, III:2, p. 205.

from God. God still remains free and sovereign. Even without his freedom, man is related to the freedom of God. Sin as an "impossible possibility" cannot be allowed to exist rightfully in the good creation of God. Man in his sin may lose his freedom, but God's freedom provides that the "Hound of Heaven" (not Barth's figure) will continue to seek to find and save sinful man. Cobb states:

Between God and nothingness we must place man, the creature. But in man, too, we find a parallel duality of the elect and the rejected. The elect are those who have become as creatures what the creature really is. That is, God has presented himself to the elect in such a way that they acknowledge his Lordship and their creaturehood. Their existence and reality consist in the Word that God has spoken to them. Thus they neither have nor claim any autonomous existence, but just in this acceptance of existence from God they fulfill their true being as creatures.⁷⁷

Man in himself is utterly undeserving; he is under the wrath of God; he has sinned "against his created being."⁷⁸ He has chosen that which, according to his election in Christ, is impossible for him to choose. He has sinned against grace. He does not realize that his own true being as man is his being elected in Christ. He has renounced his true freedom and gradually becomes enslaved by sin.

Barth would say that only when man meets the Word of God does he get a true measure of his condition. He sees that the essence of sin is revolt against God. He confuses time with eternity, and therefore eternity with time. He attempts what he ought not to attempt. Man makes God a thing among other things in the world. But there is

⁷⁷Cobb, *op. cit.*, p. 191.

⁷⁸C.D., III:2, p. 29.

hope, as Come says to the preachers:

Barth contends that man's given creatureliness does not contain within itself the ultimate mystery that man is destined for life with God. This mystery is known and realized only when God speaks and reveals it to man. But Barth points out that there is a second mystery about man and his potentialities which also was not given and so is not explainable within his own creatureliness (III:2, 276). This is the mystery of man's sin and his corresponding fall, misery, and damnation. But just as man's destiny as God's partner does not have its ground and guarantee in man himself, so also man's sin is not to be understood, as to its possibility and its end, within the given structures and capacities of his creaturely being. The mystery of man's sin points beyond itself to the mystery of the demonic.⁷⁹

Barth is equating evil with nothingness, denying it any autonomous existence.⁸⁰ Cobb states:

Barth equates evil with nothingness, and he absolutely denies to it any autonomous existence or reality. Yet it is precisely this nothingness which, as the enemy of God, is overcome in Jesus Christ! Clearly, nothingness is a very active and powerful nothingness--and not, as nothingness, simply negligible. . . . It is that which is overcome by God in Jesus Christ. It is that possibility which is rejected by God in Creation. It is that which is by virtue of God's eternal rejection. Thus its being is both negative and dependent upon God, but nevertheless, as that to which God says No, still real and potent.⁸¹

"Nothingness" has an ontological status in Barth. It is not nothing or non-existent. God is concerned with it, He strives against it and resists it. Nothingness "is."⁸² Man the creature is threatened by Nothingness, and he is God's partner in the struggle against it.⁸³

⁷⁹Arnold B. Come, *An Introduction to Barth's Dogmatics for Preachers* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1963), p. 217.

⁸⁰See *C.D.*, III:3, p. 289, for the translators' note on "nothingness."

⁸¹Cobb, *op. cit.*, pp. 190-191; *C.D.*, III:3, pp. 351-353.

⁸²*C.D.*, III:3, p. 349.

⁸³*Ibid.*, pp. 354-355.

Nothingness is evil because it is the negation of God's Grace; it is that which opposes God and the creature; it is what is impossible or intolerable. It takes the form of sin, evil or death and remains inexplicable as a natural process or condition.⁸⁴

This Nothingness is overcome only by God in Christ. Hartwell states:

. . . Jesus Christ is presented as the One who in every respect executes the work of reconciliation, be it as the Judge (Son of Man) who in the freedom of God and in His service lives the perfect life of real man (C.D., IV:2, p. 154) or as the Light of life which lightens our darkness, because His life is light and His reconciling work a prophetic Word, or as the Victor who triumphs over the Nihil (IV:3, pp. 38ff.; 168ff.).⁸⁵

Nothingness is that which is overcome by God in Christ; that possibility which is rejected by God in creation, that which *is* by virtue of God's eternal rejection. "Thus its being is both negative and dependent upon God, but nevertheless, as that to which God says No, still real and potent (III:3, pp. 351-353)."⁸⁶

Nothingness is real and exists, but its reality and existence are *sui generis* (III:3, p. 352). That is, nothingness does not share in the kind of reality that God has or imparts to his creation. Nothingness has its reality only as that which is rejected by God, therefore, as that which is negated and overcome.

Between God and nothingness we must place man, the creature. But in man, too, we find a parallel duality of the elect and the rejected.⁸⁷ The elect are those who have become as

⁸⁴*Ibid.*, p. 354.

⁸⁵Hartwell, *op. cit.*, p. 132.

⁸⁶Cobb, *op. cit.*, p. 191.

⁸⁷See Otto Weber, *Karl Barth's Church Dogmatics* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1953), pp. 200-204.

creatures what the creature really is. That is, God has presented himself to the elect in such a way that they acknowledge his Lordship and their creaturehood. Their existence and reality consist in the Word that God has spoken to them. Thus they neither have nor claim any autonomous existence, but just in this acceptance of existence from God they fulfill their true being as creatures.⁸⁸

It is God who identifies Himself with man in the face of the threat of Nothingness. God is faithful to his creature and has assumed the responsibility of confronting Nothingness.

He would rather let Himself be injured and humiliated in making the assault and repulse of nothingness His own concern than leave His creature alone in this affliction. He deploys all His majesty in the work of His deepest condescension. He intervenes in the struggle between nothingness and the creature as if He were not God but Himself a weak and threatened and vulnerable creature.⁸⁹

This to Hausmann is perhaps the greatest sentence in the whole of the *Church Dogmatics*.⁹⁰

Sin and Human Freedom

Man is totally sinful, but he is still the object of divine grace.⁹¹ Although man has denied his creaturely freedom, disobeyed God and thus lost himself in isolation from his fellowman, there is hope. Man can hear God and respond. Man can become truly man in his response to God. Even as man hears the No of God's judgment upon man's sin, he is hearing a form of address that keeps man from drifting

⁸⁸Cobb, *op. cit.*, p. 191.

⁸⁹*C.D.*, III:3, p. 358.

⁹⁰Hausmann, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

⁹¹*C.D.*, III:2, p. 31.

off into isolation and death. Even in judgment there is hope. Barth states:

The free man is the man who can be genuinely man in fellowship with God. He exercises and has this freedom, therefore, not in an indefinite but in a definite choice in which he demonstrates this capacity. But this capacity is grounded in his fellowship with God, this means in the choice in which he confirms and practises his fellowship with God; in the election, corresponding to his own election and creation and determination, of faith and obedience and gratitude and loyalty to God as the One who is the Creator and Giver not only of his human essence and existence but also of this capacity.⁹²

Human freedom is not realized in the solitary detachment of an individual in isolation from his fellow-men. Rather, humanity means a being of man with others. Starting with the axion, "I am," Barth states that man always encounters the "Thou." In being myself, I cannot help being what I am for another. Thus man is man only in relation to his fellow-man. Man in this I-thou relation is never free from his fellow-man, but is determined by him. There is always a togetherness, a co-existence, which involves recognition of the integrity and individuality of each by the other. And yet there is always a mutual dependency. It is in this relationship that man expresses his freedom.⁹³

Thus human freedom is freedom only in Jesus Christ. Man is free to be himself in Jesus Christ.⁹⁴ Jesus is the basis, goal and limitation of all freedom, and it is through Him that man gains

⁹²C.D., IV:2, p. 494.

⁹³C.D., III:2, pp. 242-271.

⁹⁴Cf. Barth, *The Humanity of God*, pp. 81ff.

freedom, thus choosing what God has chosen for him. In this way man's true freedom is defined, conditioned and determined only by divine freedom. Man can do nothing of himself and will do nothing until a free loving God frees him and enables him to respond to His grace by the Holy Spirit. Man's freedom must always be viewed under the context of the freedom of God for human freedom derives from divine freedom. Man's freedom is always freedom in dependence upon God, freedom in active relation with God. The free man is free only when he is in fellowship with God, the Source of all freedom. Man's freedom is the gift of God in the free outpouring of His grace, producing not only a freedom of man's will, but a freedom of the whole man. Arnold Come puts it this way:

Put very simply, Barth's main thesis (concerning human freedom) is that man is truly free insofar as he lives gladly in communion with God. This is the 'law' of his freedom. But as exemplified by the story of the two trees in the Garden of Eden, man seeks to be free of this law by claiming to be free to determine good and evil for himself (III:1, 249-288). The result is that man is subjected to another law, the law of sin and death. From this real slavery he cannot free himself. Now freedom comes only when men are restored to life under the true law of God in Jesus Christ, the law of love from and to God. . . . In the gospel we come to know that God's command does not come as a tyrannical compulsion (you must) but as a loving permitting (you may). The presence of God's Spirit in our hearts now allows us to be free to live with him in love. . . . His command means freedom, freedom from anxiety. . . .⁹⁵

Humanity for Barth is the free co-existence of man and man in which the one may be and will be the companion, associate, friend, and helper of the other, with Jesus as THE Companion, Associate, Friend and Helper

⁹⁵Come, *op. cit.*, pp. 224-225.

who exemplifies man as neighbor. Humanity is the freedom which allows man to relate to his fellow men; it is a natural exercise and actualization of human nature.⁹⁶ Man is not only an object, determined by God's freedom, but also a subject, called to free responsibility before God to be a self, a free being who can and should seek and obey God.⁹⁷ Thus God gives us freedom over our own bodies and thus over ourselves. And this freedom to relate to ourselves makes us free to love our fellow man, as the Holy Spirit restores our willingness to serve. This new "willing freedom" overcomes the reluctance that prevents us from freely relating to our neighbor. We are free to "choose life" for our decision and action have their basis in the decision and action of God, who always chooses life.

This true freedom is found in Christian commitment to Christ, freeing man to serve faithfully in love. The one who is dependent upon God in Christ is a free person, free in Christ to love and serve in hope, faithfully, relating to the Thou "from the heart."

⁹⁶C.D., III:2, pp. 275ff.

⁹⁷C.D., III:2, p. 194.

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